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Silas Deane

A History of Connecticut

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The Connecticut State Capitol, Hartford, Conn. Completed in 1879

A HISTORY OF CONNECTICUT

ITS PEOPLE AND INSTITUTIONS

BY

GEORGE L. CLARK

AUTHOR OF
"SILAS DEANE: A LEADER IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION,"
"NOTIONS OF A YANKEE PARSON," ETC.

WITH 100 ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS
NEW YORK AND LONDON
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GEORGE L. CLARK

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To

MY CHILDREN

THIS VOLUME IS AFFECTIONATELY

DEDICATED

IN MEMORY OF

HAPPY DAYS

IN

CONNECTICUT

CONNECTICUT

'T is a rough land of earth and stone and tree,
Where breathes no castled lord or cabined slave;
Where thoughts and tongues and hands are bold and free,
And friends will find a welcome, foes a grave;
And where none kneel, when to Heaven they pray,
Nor even then, unless in their own way.

FITZ-GREENE HALLECK.

PREFACE

WHILE Connecticut is passing from foundation work and a style of living, moulded by the frugal Puritan influences of the early years, into conditions, shaped largely by people from many other lands; while wealth, luxuries and amusements multiply, it is well to review the past, study the reasons for the migrations hither; glance at early idealism, hardships and problems; see the thrift, wariness and common sense; observe what farmers had for breakfast, what and how they believed, the way they worked, struggled and occasionally played; how fines as well as interest in a warm theology promoted attendance at the icy meeting-house. It is diverting to notice leather breeches, home-spun coats and linsey-woolsey gowns issuing from forest, sheep-pasture and flax-field; watch the evolution of the log-house into the gambrel-roofed and lean-to; see the bridle-path widen and harden into turnpike, railroad and trolley; schooner change to steamboat and ferry to bridge; mark how the versatile people managed with Indians, wolves, rattlesnakes, witchcraft, slavery, tramps and Sunday; how they erected schools, meeting-houses, whipping-posts and pillories in every town; how they relieved the monotony of brewing beer, working the loom and hoeing corn by a journey to Tower Hill to enjoy the luxury of a moving picture of a public hanging. We are to see the innocent-looking sloop go down the river toward Barbados, loaded with horses, pipe-staves, salted fish, beef and pork, returning with a cargo of rum and molasses, or of unwilling immigrants from

Guinea; examine afresh the evolution of town and colonial government; the working of Charles II's liberal charter; the development of courts, schools, colleges, taxation, insurance, temperance, music, art, literature, industries, penal and reformatory methods, philanthropies and religious freedom; how slavery grew, waned and ceased; mines were opened, inventions multiplied, looms worked and brickyards poured forth their treasure; how tobacco fields, market gardens, orchards, factories, Yankee notions and tin-peddlers flourished.

In touching so many interests, adventurous were the daring that should expect to include in one volume all that deserves saying, and with infallible accuracy, but in this endeavor to describe the place and influence of Connecticut in the onward movement of the country, the author believes that the work invites to an instructive and interesting excursion into a vital and inspiring field.

The author wishes to express his hearty thanks to all who helped him by suggestions and criticisms: chief of these is Charles M. Andrews, Professor of History in Yale College, who, with accurate scholarship, made many invaluable comments. Among others who have placed the writer under decided obligations are the following librarians: George S. Godard of the State Library, Albert C. Bates of the Connecticut Historical Society Library, Frank B. Gay and Forrest Morgan of the Watkinson Library. Material assistance has also been rendered in lines in which they are experts by President F. S. Luther and Professor J. J. McCook of Trinity College, Professor W. S. Pratt of Hartford Theological Seminary, Professors W. M. Bailey, Williston Walker and H. A. Beers of Yale University; Dr. Edwin A. Down, Chairman of the State Board of Charities; C. D. Hine, Secretary of the State Board of Education; Dr. W. N. Thompson, Superintendent of the Hartford Retreat for the Insane; Dr. G. H. Knight, late Superintendent of the School for the Feeble-minded; Albert Garvin, Superintendent of

the State Reformatory; W. A. Garner, Warden of the Connecticut State Prison; W. G. Fairbank, Superintendent of the Connecticut Industrial School for Girls; C. M. Williams, Superintendent of the Connecticut School for Boys; Dr. W. E. Fisher of the staff of the Connecticut Hospital for the Insane; Dr. H. M. Pollock, Superintendent of the Norwich Hospital for the Insane; E. M. Warner, Esquire, of Putnam; C. M. Thompson, Secretary of the Connecticut Prison Association; J. M. Taylor, President of the Connecticut Mutual Insurance Company; Burton Mansfield, Insurance Commissioner; W. S. Corbin and C. C. Maxfield, Tax Commissioner and Clerk; R. B. Brandegee, C. N. Flagg and James Britton, artists; Charles Hopkins Clark of the *Hartford Courant* and Professor Anson D. Morse of Amherst College.

G. L. C.

Wethersfield, Connecticut,
April 1, 1914.

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A HISTORY OF CONNECTICUT

A History of Connecticut

CHAPTER I

THE PREHISTORIC PERIOD

CONNECTICUT extends on Long Island Sound a hundred miles, rises to an average height of a thousand feet at its northern line, and in the case of Bear Mountain in Salisbury, to the extreme height of two thousand three hundred and fifty-four feet. The eastern boundary is forty-five and the western seventy-two miles in extent, and within these modest limits lies one of the original thirteen colonies, busy, thrifty, inventive, and conservative. It is on the turnpike between empire states,—sharp for the best trade, keen for the main chance, laughed at for its steady habits, wooden nutmegs, peddlers, and Blue Laws; leaned on in times of national peril; sought by tired nerves for its lovely valleys, whispering brooks, and radiant lakes. The eastern counties are sandy, stony, sometimes rocky and wild, but beautiful. The western parts are famous for their noble mountains, picturesque lakes, and entrancing scenery. The three main rivers and the streams which flow into them once abounded with salmon, shad, and trout. These streams are still beautiful, and are useful for steamboats, tugs, sailboats, power-boats, and for turning wheels to manufacture everything from a jackknife to an automobile. Varied is the wealth of Connecticut—forests, mountains, orchards, and meadows—

and in their season there abound sweet and blushing peaches, spicy apples, delicious grapes, mammoth strawberries, the lowly potato, the rank tobacco, the crisp celery, the royal Indian corn, the courtly rye, and the graceful herd's grass.

Searching for the foundation of this park-like state, we see beneath all else the ancient rocks—granite, quartz, feldspar, found in abundance in the eastern and western counties, and sometimes cropping out elsewhere. Midway, the highlands sink into a wide trough, in which are rocks of a later date, showing that a muddy valley once ran through the state into Massachusetts, and that over it sauntered in lazy promenade, or leaped in hungry pursuit of prey, huge reptiles and the terrible mastodon; some of those footprints used to be called "Connecticut River bird-tracks," but it is now known that birds did not appear at that early period, and that the animals must have been reptiles. An interesting example of the monsters in Connecticut thousands of years ago was found in Farmington in August, 1913, by workmen digging on the shore of an ancient lake, whose mud bottom rests on glacial rock. It is a skeleton of a mastodon, which is supposed to have been eleven feet high and to have weighed about eight tons. Upon that weird scene a volcano rolled its molten lava, spreading over the beds of mud, hardening it into rock, after which there succeeded a long era of peace, with busy streams pouring in their tribute of sand and gravel. Then there occurred another volcanic outburst, and later still another, for there are in central Connecticut three sheets of volcanic trap, and sandwiched between them are beds of sand, clay, and gravel, long since hardened into rocks known as shale, sandstone, and conglomerate. The three fiery torrents killed the animals, preserving many of their tracks. Long after the rocks were laid, and the last lava stiffened, there were powerful earthquakes, which tilted the rocks. The latter, through the weathering of the ages, form the mountains we call Talcott, Hanging Hills of Meriden, Lamentation,

Three Notches, and Pond Rock, in the long range from Mount Tom to the Sound.

Then came the Glacial Age, whose vast sheet covered the land and moved heavily down mountain and hill, carrying bowlders for miles, grinding the surface of the rocks, leaving piles of sand here and there. All the rocks of the state show the results of the Glacial Age, but the clearest markings are in the trap ridges of the central parts, wherever the trap comes to the surface. The broken material torn off by the ice is found in the gravelly soil of the cultivated land, in the hills of gravel, and in the sandy bluffs along the rivers. Long Island is probably a terminal moraine, and Saybrook rests on a glacial sand plain, as does the town of Essex, and a part of Norwich. In the central part of the state, the drift is mostly of trap, sandstone, or shale, but in the eastern and western sections the light-colored crystalline rocks and gravels are seen.

The central valley, about twenty miles in width, is drained by the Connecticut as far south as Middletown, where the stream forces its way between two mountains, leaving the valley to reach the Sound at New Haven. This valley, the home of the first settlers, is of a deep, rich loam, until the river leaves it, after which it is sandy. The more broken country, often rugged and grand, in the eastern and western parts is less favorable for agriculture than are the central parts, but the rivers are powerful sources of wealth.

Connecticut is well supplied with clay for bricks in Newington, Windsor, North Haven, and elsewhere; its granite quarries are many and inexhaustible, its sandstone measures at Portland abundant, and its iron mines at Salisbury of great value, especially where toughness is required. It was a long, stiff discipline through which Connecticut passed to prepare for the coming days; she was wrenched, twisted, racked, pounded, frozen, washed and burned, but at length the sturdy foundation was laid for a resolute people and a vigorous history.

CHAPTER II

THE SETTLEMENT

IT is well that this singularly favored tract with its varied wealth of building materials, soil, rivers, and harbors stayed in obscurity so long, until the seed of a highly developed civilization could be winnowed out of the gloomy and wearisome life of Europe. It was in 1614, that the clear waters of the Connecticut were first traversed by a keel steered by a pale-faced mariner. The first European visitor to Connecticut was the Dutch navigator, Adrian Blok, who, on his way through the Sound in his American-built yacht, the *Restless*, explored for sixty miles the river, which the Indians called "Quaneh-ta-cut," the long tidal river. It was springtime, and forest and meadow were charming to the keen mariner; few signs of life were seen until he reached Middletown, where the Indians were numerous, and he learned that they were of the nation called Sequins; near Hartford he came to the country of the Nawaas, where "the natives plant maize," and their village was fortified to withstand the Pequots. Landing there, Blok parleyed with the Indians, and learned that natives from the upper parts of the river brought rich peltry in bark canoes. Then he sailed up-stream as far as Enfield Rapids, where he turned and went down to the Sound; thence he continued eastward, taking note of the Thames and Montauk; explored Narragansett Bay, Martha's Vineyard, and Nantucket; named Rhode Island the *Red Island*, from the color of the soil;

The Perched Glacial Bowlder at Taftville, Connecticut

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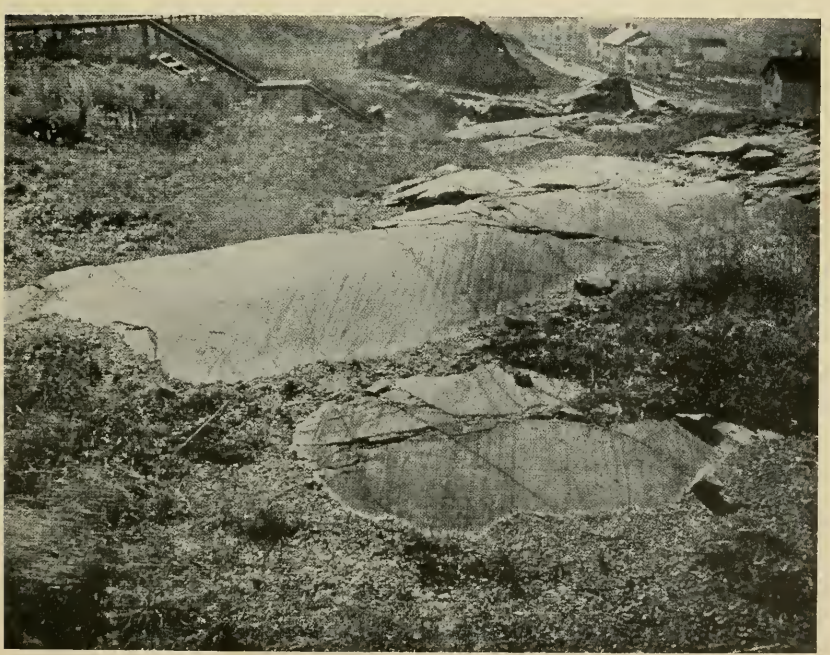


Glacial Striæ, Summit Street, Hartford, Connecticut

Reproduced from *The Connecticut Quarterly* vol. iv., No. 3. (By permission)

glanced at Plymouth Rock, and entering Massachusetts Bay, went as far as Nahant. On his way back he fell in with another Dutch captain, Christaensen, in the *Fortune*, and turning over his vessel to another, Blok sailed for Holland, where so much interest was awakened that the Amsterdam Trading Company was formed; a map was made from Blok's data, and the whole matter was laid before the States-General, which gave the company a charter, and exclusive right to trade for four voyages during three years.

Under that charter of 1614, Dutch ships were soon sailing up and down the river, trading with the Indians, and for nearly eighteen years Amsterdam vessels were on the Connecticut, which was unknown to the English until a Dutch captain from Manhattan, seeing the Pilgrims at Plymouth "seated in a barren quarter," shortsightedly told them of the rich valley Blok had discovered; said that it was a "fine place for plantation and trade," and wished them to make use of it. This was in 1627, and, the hands of the Pilgrims being full, the acceptance of the invitation was deferred for six years. In 1631, some Mohican Indians visited Plymouth and urged the settlers to go to Connecticut, extolling it as a good place for plantation and trade; they wished to gain the help of the English in behalf of their chief, the able and unscrupulous Uncas, who was seeking the headship of the Pequots.

Moved by these persuasions, in 1632, Edward Winslow went in a boat to the river, confirmed the statements of Dutch and Indians, and on his return went with Bradford to Boston to discuss a plan for a joint trading-post, but they received no encouragement. In September, 1633, a vessel was sent from Boston into the Connecticut, and John Oldham with three others set out from Watertown overland to explore the river. Plymouth waited no longer, but equipped "a great new bark," in the hold of which was the frame of a house, with "boards to cover and finish it," and sent it forth under command of Captain William Holmes.

When they reached the Connecticut, they were surprised to find the Dutch at Hartford in possession of a fort, on which were mounted two cannon. In the previous June, the Dutch bought of the Indians twenty acres, and called their fort the "House of Hope," on reaching which Holmes heard the drum-beats and saw the cannoneers beside the guns with lighted torches, under the banner of the Netherlands. The commander, Jacob van Curler, bade Holmes "strike and stay," but the Plymouth captain appealed to his commission and went on. No shot was fired, and on reaching the point just below the mouth of the Farmington River September 26, 1633, they landed, quickly "clapt up" the house and soon had a palisade around it to protect against the Dutch and the far more dangerous Pequots.

The Dutch in the House of Hope found their English neighbors disagreeable, but they stayed in their meager stronghold till 1654, in almost constant broils, their land invaded, workmen harassed, and claims challenged. They were "disgusted with a post so constantly insulted," the English denying the right of the Dutch to any land about the fort. Facing the question of Governor Hopkins, "Show your right and we are ready to exhibit ours," there was only one thing to do since the English were becoming so numerous. In 1636, the English secured deeds from Sequasson, the son of Soheag, "lord and rightful owner of the entire river and land thereabouts," and he testified in the Hartford Court that "he never sold any ground to the Dutch." A little later, the colony procured from Uncas, who, after the Pequot overthrow, was the all-powerful Mohican sagamore, "a clear and ample deed of all the lands in Connecticut, except the lands that were planted." The purchase money was in wampum, shoes, and trading-cloth. Boundaries were indefinite, especially when a distance was described as far as "one day's walk," and Connecticut carried out the advice of Sir William Boswell, English ambassador at The Hague, to "crowd on, crowding the Dutch out of those places which

they have occupied, without hostility or any act of violence." Soon English and Dutch farmers came to blows; Evert Duyckink, a garrison man, while sowing grain was hit "a hole in his head with a sticke, so that the bloode ran downe very strongly, downe upon his body." Ground which the Dutch had made ready for seed was seized in the night and planted with corn by the English, and then held by them. At length, after countless irritations, retaliations, and negotiations, the English cold shoulder proved so stiff, and the English disposition so freezing, that in the April session of 1654, the Court at Hartford "ordered and declared that the Dutch Howse of Hope, with the lands, buildings and fences thereto belonging bee hereby sequestered." Captain John Underhill posted this notice on the doors of the House of Hope, "I, John Underhill, do seize this house and land for the State of England, by virtue of the commission granted by the Providence Plantation." The Dutch were glad to leave a place which had become so uncomfortable, and long ago the river wore away the last vestige of the fort, of which the only relic remaining is a tired-looking yellow Holland brick with the halves of two others, which are now among the relics of the Connecticut Historical Society at Hartford.

We must now go back to the story of the settlers from Boston Bay. The people of Watertown, Dorchester, and Newtown (Cambridge) were growing restless under the Massachusetts authority, and the lure of Connecticut appealed strongly. The master mind of this migration was Thomas Hooker, a man of majestic presence and powerful intellect, who had graduated at Cambridge at the age of twenty-two, and continued for a time in residence as a lecturer, at a time when Laud was advancing to become Archbishop of Canterbury, and the policy of "thorough" was developing. Hooker's disposition is seen in his unwillingness to accept a living, for which he would come under obligations to a bishop, and as an alternative he accepted a

living of forty pounds, the gift of Francis Drake. Soon afterward he was appointed to a lectureship, a method of reaching the people when preaching fell into disuse. Laud said that lecturers were "the people's creatures" and "blew the bellows of sedition." Hooker's influence appears in a letter written to Laud's chancellor by a minister who said, "His genius will still haunt all the pulpits where any of his scholars may be admitted to preach. There be divers young ministers about us that spend their time in conference with him, and return home and preach what he hath brewed. Our people's pallets grow so out of tast, yt noe food contents them but of Mr. Hooker's dressing." The lectures were delivered on the market-days and Sunday afternoons, and on one occasion in the presence of the judges and before a large congregation, he "declared freely the sins of England, and the plagues that would come" for such sins. Mather quotes one as saying of him that "he was a person, who while doing his Master's work would put a king in his pocket."

In 1629, Laud turned his attention to the lecturers, and among the first to feel the weight of his heavy hand was Thomas Hooker of Chelmsford, who was compelled to retire to a village four miles away, where he taught school in his house, and the next year he was cited to appear before the High Commission, but he escaped arrest, he went to Holland and, in 1633, we find him in Boston. Hooker's sister was wife of John Pym, who pleaded for the restoration of the Puritan clergy, but the opposition was too strong and Laud's influence was growing. The voyage was of eight weeks' duration, and the conversations must have been interesting, for besides Hooker was Samuel Stone, a lecturer, and later associate pastor with Hooker, and also John Cotton and John Haynes. Cotton stayed in Boston, while Hooker and Stone went to Cambridge. On October 11, 1633, Hooker was chosen pastor and Stone teacher, and Hubbard says that "after Mr. Hooker's coming over, it was noticed

that many of the freemen grew to be very jealous of their liberties." Cambridge was prospering with its hundred families; its tax was as large as that of Boston, and John Haynes was chosen governor in 1635, but an uneasiness arose. The town "complained of straitness for want of land, especially meadow." Enlargements were granted to include what is now Brighton, Brookline, Newton, and Arlington, but the uneasiness continued. Hubbard, who lived within fifty years of these events, says that other motives did "more secretly and powerfully drive on the business. Two such eminent stars as were Mr. Cotton and Mr. Hooker, both of the first magnitude, could not continue in one and the same orb." In a letter written to John Wilson, a writer says that he heard "that ther is great diusion of judgment in matters of religion amongst good ministers and people which moued Mr. Hoker to remoue." He also wrote: "You are so strict in admission of members to your church, that more than half are out of your church . . . and that Mr. Hoker, befor he went away, preached against yt." John Winthrop, the grave, scholarly and deeply religious Moses of the Puritan migration to America, found John Cotton, his gifted minister, an able yoke-fellow in the position that it would be calamitous to allow any one who was not a member of the Congregational Church to vote or hold office. This combination of the aristocratic and the political was not popular in some of the towns. Samuel Stone said it was a "speaking aristocracy in the face of a silent democracy."

The number of freemen had increased so rapidly that in 1630, they could not all meet in one place to transact business, and a board of assistants was appointed to choose the governor and make laws, and in May, 1631, it was further decided that the assistants need not be chosen every year, but might keep their seats during good behavior, or until set aside by the vote of the freemen. This was not agreeable to Cambridge, Watertown and Dorchester, and they sent a deputation to Boston to inspect the charter, to see

if such power was authorized by it. The method of electing assistants was changed, but Cotton was ever strenuous in a position, in which he had with him a majority of the ministers, that democracy was no fit government either for church or commonwealth. Chief in opposition was Hooker, who maintained against the proposition that "the best part is always the least, and of the best part the wiser is always the lesser," that "in matters of greater consequence, which concern the common Good a General Council, chosen by all to transact businesses which concern all, I conceive, under favor most suitable to rule, and most safe for relief of the whole."

It appears thus that the motives leading to the migration were political, democratic, and commercial, for there were many who preferred a more popular basis for the government than that which prevailed at Boston Bay, where the right to vote was so strictly guarded that only one man in six had suffrage. Land hunger also impelled many, not so much through lack of pasturage, of which there was sufficient in eastern Massachusetts, but the fertility of the Connecticut valley appealed strongly to the enterprising. Although theoretically there was scanty place for freedom in Massachusetts, especially for extremists like Mrs. Hutchinson, Roger Williams, and the Quakers, the actual condition was not as trying as one might think for most people, because of the sturdy common sense of the settlers, who demanded much liberty of discussion. The towns of Cambridge, Watertown, and Dorchester (together with Roxbury, which settled Springfield) developed a more energetic local self-government than elsewhere, and in 1631, Dorchester and Watertown led the way in organizing town government by selectmen. In that year a tax of sixty pounds was assessed upon the settlements to pay for building frontier fortifications in Cambridge, and the inhabitants of Watertown at first declined to pay their share of this tax, on the ground that English freemen cannot rightfully be taxed, save by their

consent, a protest which led to a change in the constitution of the colony. In view of these facts it is not strange that in May, 1634, the congregation at Cambridge petitioned the General Court for permission to move to some other quarter within Massachusetts. The petition was granted, and messengers were sent to Ipswich and Merrimac to look for a location, but after the invitation of the Indians on the Connecticut, a petition was presented to the Court in September for leave to go outside Massachusetts, and it was rejected by the assistants, though the deputies favored it. In the spring of 1635, some of the Watertown and Dorchester people were more successful with their application, and it was voted to allow them to go, provided that they continued under the Massachusetts authority.

We have given an account of the building of a trading house at Windsor in September, 1633; in the autumn of 1634, ten householders and planters, called "Adventurers," including the venturesome and trying pioneer, John Oldham, settled at Pyquag, or Wethersfield; building huts they broke the land and sowed some rye, thus starting agricultural life on the Connecticut, and during the following May about thirty more took up land there. In 1635, Windsor received the first installment from Dorchester, and a company direct from England. In October, some sixty men, women, and children, driving before them cows, horses, and swine, set out by land and reached the Connecticut "after a tedious and difficult journey," but the river froze over by November 15, and the vessel that carried provisions for the winter for the colonists was stayed at Saybrook. Fearing starvation, most of the settlers went to the mouth of the river, loosened a sloop from the ice, and returned to Boston. When the spring came many Cambridge people sold their lands on the Charles River, and in June, 1636, a large number of people took the "old Connecticut path," through Waltham, Framingham, Dudley, and Woodstock, the path over which Oldham went three years before, "lodging

in Indian towns all the way." It was not an imposing-looking procession: men, women, and children on foot, though, because of ill health, Mrs. Hooker was carried in a litter; the only band of music that attended it was the lowing of a hundred and sixty cattle and the squealing of the pigs; but the presence of Hooker, Haynes, Stone, and Bull gave dignity to this movement of American democracy. Through the summer of 1636, people traveled to Connecticut, and almost daily a few would take up land and build their houses. Fever for change also seized some of the Roxbury people, and Agawam, or Springfield, was settled by a company of people under the leadership of William Pynchon.

The site of Hartford was deeded by Sachem Sequasson to Samuel Stone, William Goodwin and others, and while the original deed of 1636, was lost, a deed confirming the first and extending the original grant westward, executed by the heirs of Sequasson, is recorded in the *Hartford Land Records*. The settlers were known as *proprietors*, and to every one were allotted a house lot, a piece of meadow land and a wood lot; the remainder of the land was called the *Town Commons*. These lots were not recorded until October 10, 1639, when the General Court ordered that the three towns should provide a "ledger Booke, with an index or alphabett unto the same: Also shall choose one who shall be a Towne Clerke or Register, who shall . . . record every man's house and land already graunted and measured out to him." This book, known as the *Book of Distribution*, is the first book of land records in the town clerk's office in Hartford. Here is a sample entry: "Severall parsilles of land in Hartford upon the River of Coneckticott belonging to John Steele, Sinor, and to his heirs forever. Viz: One parsill on which his now dwelling house standeth with other outt houses, yardes and gardins." The name of Hartford at first was Newe Towne, but within a year it was changed, since Stone and many other settlers were from Hertford, England, and the capital

of Connecticut was called "Harteford Towne. And likewise the plantacon nowe called Watertowne shall be called Wythersfield, and the plantacon called Dorchester shall be called Windsor." There are two landmarks remaining from the earliest times: the graveyard back of the First Church, where many of the famous settlers were buried, and the well of Thomas Hooker, still in use in a foundry on Arch Street.

The coming of the Dorchester people to the neighborhood of the Plymouth fort at Windsor gave the Pilgrims there no little uneasiness in the spring of 1635, and Jonathan Brewster, in a letter from the fort in July, tells of the daily arrival by land and water of small parties of settlers. At length these newcomers, headed by Roger Ludlow, one of the ablest and richest men in Massachusetts, claiming that the land was theirs as the "Lord's waste" by "the Providence of God," moved into the midst of the Plymouth people, who protested against the Dorchester settlement on the Plymouth Great Meadow. As the Plymouth men had ignored the claims of the Dutch, so now the Dorchester people ignored the Pilgrim claims to the property, and proposed to allow the Plymouth people only one share, "as to a single family." A protest against the Dorchester intrusion was reported by Brewster at Plymouth, and Bradford entered his objection, contending that it was an attempt to "thrust them all out." Winslow went from Plymouth to Boston and had a fruitless conference with the Dorchester leaders. The negotiations with the Bay magistrates came to nothing. "Many were the letters and passages" that were indulged in by the sturdy combatants. Pious phrases and greedy purposes furnish interesting reading. Both appealed to God's good providence, and while Plymouth had the better argument, Dorchester had the greater power. The Plymouth men would not resort to arms, as it was "far from their thoughts to live in continual contention with their friends and brethren, though they conceived that they suf-

fered much in the thing"; accordingly they entered into a treaty, insisting only that the Dorchester people should acknowledge their rights to the territory. "After much ado," the Plymouth house was retained by the Plymouth men with a sixteenth of all the land bought of the Indians, and the project of abandoning the "barren place" on Plymouth sands was given up.

While these settlements were forming on the river, steps were being taken to secure the mouth of it. There arrived at Boston on October 5, 1635, the ship *Abigail*, bringing among her passengers three men of note, representing the *Lords* and *Gentlemen*. These were John Winthrop, Jr., Sir Harry Vane, and Rev. Hugh Peters. Winthrop bore a commission from the Lords and Gentlemen, dated July 15, 1635, and this commission named the bearer "Governor of the River Connecticut, with the places adjoining there unto, for and during the space of one whole year, after the arrival there," with "full power to do and execute any such lawful thing . . . as to the dignity or office of a governor doth or may appertain." Learning that the Dutch were bent on gaining the same place, twenty men went to the river and soon a fort was erected by Lyon Gardener, an expert military engineer, who had seen service in the Netherlands, near the point where Hans den Sluys had affixed the Dutch arms to a tree two years before. Hardly had the English mounted two cannon, when a Dutch vessel appeared, but finding the place occupied it returned to New Amsterdam. Winthrop was a superb leader of an enterprise which was designed to establish a home for some of the English gentry and plain folks after the persecution of the Puritans by the royal government had reached its height. Gardener was an able officer and skillful in laying out the town. He was just in his dealings with the Indians, whose prowess he did not slight, and whose cruelty he understood. When some Bay men spoke lightly of the Indian arrows, Gardener sent them a dead man's rib, with an arrowhead, which had

John Winthrop, Jr., of New London, 1606–1676; Governor 1657–1676,
with the Exception of 1658

From a Painting by George F. Wright of Hartford, in Memorial Hall Connecticut State Capitol

gone through the body, and stuck so fast that no one could draw it out. An effort was made to persuade the English up river to acknowledge Governor Winthrop of Saybrook, and though the appeal was skillfully and courteously made, the "loving resolutions," which the politicians at the mouth of the river longed for, never floated down stream, the question being adroitly evaded or quietly ignored. The Hooker and Haynes contingent "carved largely for themselves." George Fenwick went to Saybrook in the summer of 1635, while Winthrop was in control, and three years later he returned with more parade, two vessels, and wife and family. His home on Saybrook Point was described, in 1641, as a "faire house" well fortified. With the Fenwicks was John Higginson, a young minister who was chaplain, and after his death at ninety-three, his eulogist sang:

> Young to the pulpit he did get,
> And seventy-two years in 't did sweat.

Fenwick maintained his independent state till the end of 1644, when he ceded his possessions to the up-river colony, with the jurisdiction of all the territory claimed under the Lords and Gentlemen's patent, on condition of a tribute for ten years of certain duties on corn, biscuit, beaver-skins, and live stock exported from the river, and while the carrying out of this agreement brought Connecticut into conflict with Massachusetts over the question of taxing Springfield, the question was decided by the commissioners of the colonies in favor of Connecticut, which continued the tax for ten years.

In 1643, Winthrop was admitted to the first conference to form the New England Union, and as that body recognized only four colonies, Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Haven, Connecticut wisely appointed him one of her commissioners in 1643, and 1644, with Edward Hopkins as the other. Fenwick was as closely identified with

Connecticut as he could be, and he rendered an important service to Connecticut, when Massachusetts laid claim to the Pequot country after the war with the Indians. He interposed a protest against any decision in 1644, which would impeach his principal's title, and thus gained time for the Connecticut Colony to secure a stronger hold on the conquered lands; with the conclusion of the agreement of 1644, Saybrook became a Connecticut township.

CHAPTER III

SETTLEMENT CONCLUDED

FIVE years after the colonists began to build their log houses on the Connecticut, another settlement started on the Sound at Quinnipiac, or New Haven, under the leadership of Theophilus Eaton, Edward Hopkins, John Davenport, and several other well-to-do and most serious men. Massachusetts authorities made every effort to persuade these desirable emigrants to tarry there; Charlestown making them large offers, and Newbury proposing to give up the whole town to them; the General Court promising them any place they might choose. But this friendliness did not persuade them, and after a stay of nine months, they chose to have a colony after their own ideas. Resulting from the Pequot war was the discovery of land west of Saybrook, and in the autumn of 1637, Theophilus Eaton and others explored the region; so well pleased were they that in March, 1638, a company settled at New Haven, and on April 18, they kept their first Sunday there, gathering under an oak to listen to John Davenport, their minister.

A leading reason for the settlement was to be away from the general government of New England should there be any, and also because there were so many able men in office in Massachusetts that newcomers had scanty opportunity to build a state after their own ideas. On reaching New Haven, the wealthy leaders, accustomed to elegant houses

in London, put up elaborate homes; Governor Eaton built one on Elm Street, large enough to contain nineteen fireplaces, and Davenport's opposite is said to have had thirteen fireplaces.

Determined to establish the colony according to the Scriptures, a meeting was called soon after the arrival, and at the close of a day of fasting and prayer they made a "Plantation Covenant," in which they solemnly bound themselves "that, as in matters that concern the gathering and ordering of a church, so also in all public offices, which concern civil order, as choice of magistrates and officers, making and repealing laws, dividing allotment of inheritance, and all other things of like nature, they would all of them be ordered by the rules which the Scriptures held forth to them." This was the general platform on which all were to stand, until they could elaborate the details of state. It was a backward spring, and corn rotted in the ground, but at length warm weather came and the crops were generous. The purpose was to have an extensive colony, and if possible to keep on friendly terms with the Indians. On November 24, 1638, they bought of Momaguin, the sole sachem of the region, a large tract, paying for it twelve coats of English cloth, twelve brass spoons, twelve hatchets, twenty-four knives, twelve porringers, and four cases of French knives and scissors. In December, they bought a tract ten by thirteen miles, north of the former, a tract which now includes parts of New Haven, Branford, Wallingford, East Haven, Woodbridge, Cheshire, Hampden, and North Haven. For the second lot the payment was thirteen coats, with liberty granted to the Indians to hunt within the lands. In the summer of 1639, they met in Robert Newman's barn, and in a formal way laid the foundations of their permanent government. It was on June 4, that the free planters gathered, and Davenport preached from the text, "Wisdom hath builded her house; she hath hewn out her seven pillars," and from this he gathered that the church

Rev. John Davenport (1598–1670)

From an Old Copper Print

should be formed of seven principal men. He proposed a series of propositions, and Robert Newman was asked to "write in characters, and to read distinctly and audibly," six questions, which were discussed, and the results were adopted "by holding up their hands." The following resolutions which were subscribed and signed by the one hundred and eleven present, were the fundamental articles of New Haven Colony.

I. That the Scriptures give a perfect rule for direction and government of church, family, and commonwealth.

II. That churches, public offices, magistrates, making and repealing laws, and inheriting of property should be governed by Scripture rules.

III. That all who had come into the plantation had done so with the purpose of being church members.

IV. That all free planters bound themselves to establish such civil order as might best secure peace and purity to themselves and posterity, according to God.

V. That church members only should be free burgesses; and that they should choose magistrates among themselves to transact all public business, make and repeal laws, divide inheritances, decide difficulties, and attend to all else of a like nature.

VI. That twelve men should be chosen to select seven to begin the church.

A solemn charge or oath to give to all freemen was drawn, and it was ordered that all candidates for citizenship in the colony should subscribe to the foregoing agreement. After due term of trial, Theophilus Eaton, John Davenport, Robert Newman, Matthew Gilbert, Thomas Fugill, John Punderson, and Jeremiah Dixon were chosen to be the seven pillars of the church, and they proceeded to organize church and state. They first set up the church by associating with themselves nine others, and on October 25, 1639, they held a court at which those sixteen men elected Theophilus Eaton as governor for a year and four others to aid him as

deputies; those officers were addressed by John Davenport in what was called a charge. There were no statute laws for many years, and for the time the only restriction on the rulers was the rules of the Mosaic law. The body of free burgesses was cautiously enlarged. This government of New Haven disfranchised more than half of the settlers, and the laws afterward enacted gradually brought the government into close resemblance to that of Massachusetts.

The next half-century saw the settlement of twenty-five other towns, three of which began in 1639—Guilford, Milford, and Stratford. The people of New Haven were hardly established before Guilford, sixteen miles east of New Haven, was settled in August by a company of forty planters from Surrey and Kent; they had left England in full sympathy with Davenport, and formed their government on seven pillars, with Henry Whitfield and Samuel Desborough as leaders. The first town to settle on the Housatonic was Milford, whose Moses and Aaron were Peter Prudden and William Fowler. They chose their seven pillars and formed their government after the New Haven model, except that they admitted six planters who were not church members. Their land was purchased by four men who went in advance of the rest and purchased a tract two miles long, paying six coats, ten blankets, one kettle, and a number of hoes, knives, hatchets, and glasses. The settlers in Milford came from Essex and York, with the addition of a few who had been unhappy in Wethersfield—forty-four in all. The Stratford lands were purchased in 1639, settlement made at once, and in 1673, after a church quarrel, about fifteen families, constituting half the congregation, taking their minister, settled in Woodbury. In the political isolation of these towns we see the principle of church independence advocated by Davenport and his followers. Branford was purchased in December, 1638, by the New Haven colonists, a few days after they had bought New Haven, and in 1644, a tract of this land was sold to William Swaim and others for some

The Old Home of Hon. John Webster, Fifth Governor of Connecticut, at Hartford

A Typical Chain Ferry

people in Wethersfield, who wished to move; and at the same time with the coming of the Wethersfield people, Abraham Pierson appeared on the ground with a part of the church and congregation of Southampton, Long Island, and a church was formed with Pierson as minister, but they soon became discontented with the New Haven style of government and moved to Newark, New Jersey, a migration in which Milford, New Haven, and Guilford had a prominent part. Another ancient town, Fairfield, is in the territory discovered when the troops were in pursuit of the Pequots in 1637. Roger Ludlow, who was with the troops when they went to the great swamp in the town, was so well pleased with the fine land in the vicinity, he planned a settlement, and, in 1639, he, with eight or nine families of Windsor, began the settlement of Fairfield, being reinforced in a short time by pioneers from Watertown and Concord.

Greenwich was bought of the Indians in 1640, and was under the Dutch government for several years, which was unfortunate for the settlement as the Dutch were hostile to the Indians, and the settlers were in consequence exposed to dangers. The year 1640, also saw the purchase of land on Long Island and the beginning of Southold. In 1641, Rippowams or Stamford was purchased for twelve coats and as many hoes, hatchets, and knives, together with two kettles and four fathoms of white wampum; some of the settlers coming from Wethersfield, under the leadership of Rev. Richard Denton.

In April, 1643, fear of the Indians and of the Dutch caused a union of New Haven, Guilford, Milford and Stamford, and this confederacy became a member of the larger confederation of New England, which formed that year. In October, 1643, a constitution was agreed upon, which limited suffrage to church members and established three courts—the Plantation Court for small cases, consisting of "fitt and able" men in each town; the Court of Magistrates, consisting of the governor and three assistants for weighty cases; and

the General Court, consisting of the magistrates and two deputies for each of the four towns, and this was to sit in New Haven twice a year, to make laws and annually elect magistrates. As trial by jury was not found in the Mosaic law it was dispensed with. In 1649, Southold, in 1651, Branford, and in 1656, Greenwich were admitted to the New Haven Confederacy. These seven towns—New Haven, Guilford, Milford, Stamford, Southold, Branford, and Greenwich—were the only towns that ever belonged to the New Haven Confederacy. Knowing that they were not to be far from Massachusetts, Eaton and Davenport had not brought a military officer, but while at the Bay they discovered a valuable man who had been in the Pequot war, Captain Turner, whom they persuaded to attend the expedition to Quinnipiac, and on November 25, 1639, thirty days after the organization of the court, it was

ordered that every one that bears arms shall be completely furnished with arms; viz., a musket, a sword, bandoleers, a rest, a pound of powder, twenty bullets fitted to the musket, or four pounds of pistol-shot or swan-shot at least, and be ready to show them in the market-place, before Capt. Turner, under the penalty of twenty shillings fine for every default or absence.

Attracted by the fertile meadows ten miles to the west, settlers from Hartford went over the mountain ridge and laid out a beautiful town on the banks of the Tunxis River, buying lands of the Indians, and in 1640, Farmington was incorporated; people from Boston, Cambridge, and Roxbury taking part in the enterprise. In 1646, New London was settled, and two years later more than forty persons joined those who were there, and among them was John Winthrop, Jr. The next town to organize was Stonington, which was settled in 1649, under the leadership of William Cheesborough, a member of the Plymouth Colony. It was at first a part of Massachusetts and was named Southerton; in 1662, it became a part of Connecticut, and was named Stonington.

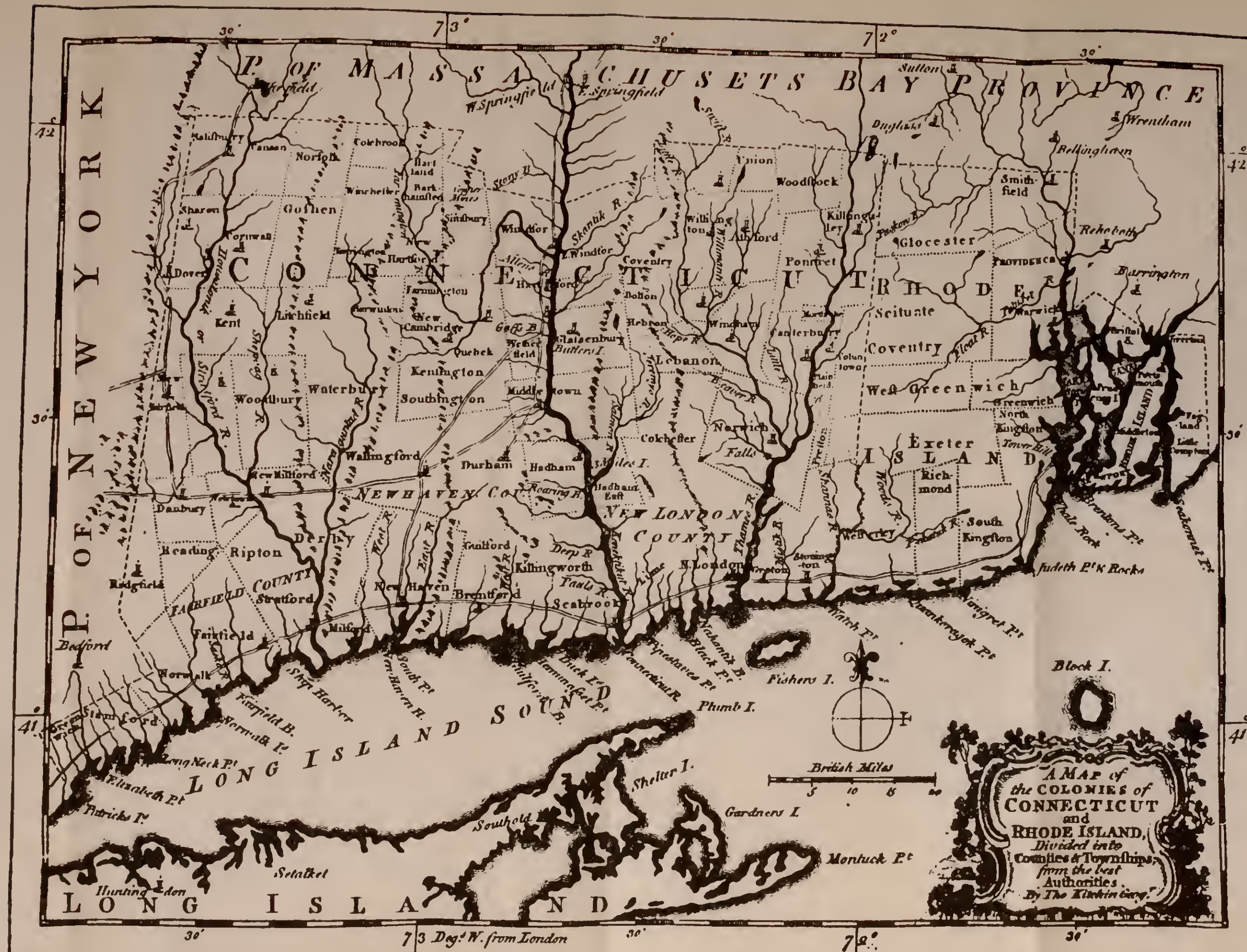
Norwalk was settled in 1649, and incorporated in 1651. A committee was appointed in March, 1650, to explore Mattabesett, and it reported that fifteen families might get a living there, and in November, 1653, planters from Wethersfield, Hartford, and England established the settlement of Middletown. The center of every one of these plantations was the meeting-house, which was built after about the same style and composed of wood (except in Guilford where stone was used), and the one in New Haven was fifty feet square, with a roof like a pyramid, ending in a tower and turret. There were also "banisters and rails on the meeting-house top, whence the drummer could summon the people on the Sabbath or when Indians attacked the town."

Preparations for the settlement of Norwich began in Saybrook as early as 1654, under the leadership of the famous and martial Captain John Mason, with whom were associated thirty-four others. Mason had been the friend and adviser of the wily Uncas for twenty-four years, and having frequently visited him, was thoroughly acquainted with the country, and it was doubtless by Mason's influence that Uncas and his two sons appeared at Saybrook in June, 1659, and signed a deed of conveyance, which gave the company of thirty-five proprietors a title to a tract of land of nine square miles at Mohican. There was another reason, for in 1645, Uncas was closely besieged by the Narragansetts, and Captain Mason, who was in command at the Saybrook fort, sent a boat-load of beef, corn, and peas by night, under the command of Thomas Leffingwell, and Uncas never forgot the favor. Seventy pounds was the price for the land, and since Connecticut had bought it before and paid for it, the English were more than fair with the Indians. Mason was then commissioned by the legislature to buy the rest of the Mohican country, which he did, and a deed of cession was signed in August, 1659, and in the following November, a few settlers made their way to the new town and spent the winter there. The Mohicans assisted them

in carrying their goods, and soon the town was laid out. The earliest act recorded on the town book was on December 11, 1660, and the name Norwich was given to the place about 1662. The settlers were the church of Rev. James Fitch of Saybrook, and the minister was a leading spirit in the enterprise. There was much trouble and litigation in later years between the settlers and the Indians over the title to the lands, since it was claimed that Uncas had made over the title to the lands to Mason to secure them to his tribe, of which Mason was the guardian. One phase of this was the act of Mason in 1671, in making over to the tribe a tract of more than four thousand acres, usually called the *sequestered lands*. But disputes continued for seventy years over the lands occupied by settlers in Colchester, Windham, Mansfield, Hebron, and some other towns, and it was not until 1743, that the case was settled by a decision to refer the matter to the king in council. The final decision was given in 1767, and it was against the Mohicans, who soon faded away. The same year of the settlement of Norwich, 1660, Suffield was settled, the land having been bought of two sachems for one hundred dollars.

There is a curious story about Lyme, which was settled about 1664, taking at first the name of East Saybrook, that in a controversy with New London over the ownership of a tract of land claimed by both Lyme and its neighbor, it was decided to settle the difficulty by a fight with fists by two champions of the towns rather than to go to the expense of an application to the legislature, and as the advantage was with Lyme, it took possession of the land.

The river towns are the mothers of eleven daughters: Windsor of five—East Windsor, South Windsor, Simsbury, Ellington, and Windsor Locks; Hartford of three—East Hartford, West Hartford, and Manchester; Wethersfield of three—Glastonbury, Rocky Hill, and Newington. In 1662, Windsor began to overflow into East Windsor; the same year the lands forming Haddam and East


A Map of the Colonies of CONNECTICUT and RHODE ISLAND, Divided into Counties & Townships, from the best Authorities. By Tho. Kitchin Geog.
P. OF MASSACHUSETS BAY PROVINCE
P. OF NEW YORK
CONNECTICUT
RHODE ISLAND
NEW HAVEN CO.
NEW LONDON COUNTY
FAIRFIELD COUNTY
LONG ISLAND SOUND
LONG ISLAND
British Miles
73 Deg. W. from London
Fishers I.
Block I.
Plumb I.
Shelter I.
Gardners I.
Montuck Pt.
Southold
Setalket
Huntingdon
Stamford
Norwalk
Fairfield
Stratford
Milford
New Haven
Brentford
Guilford
Killingworth
Seabrook
N. London
Stonington
Danbury
Ripton
Derby
Wallingford
Durham
Hadham
Middletown
Waterbury
Woodbury
Litchfield
Kent
Goshen
Norfolk
Salisbury
Canaan
Sharon
Cornwall
Hartford
Windsor
Wethersfield
Glastenbury
Bolton
Coventry
Hebron
Lebanon
Colchester
Norwich
Windham
Canterbury
Pomfret
Woodstock
Union
Killingsley
Glocester
Providence
Warwick
Scituate
Coventry
West Greenwich
Exeter
Richmond
South Kingston
Westerly
Smithfield
Rehoboth
Barrington
Bristol
Wrentham
Bellingham
Douglass
Sutton
W. Springfield
E. Springfield
Bedford
Ridgfield
Reading
Judeth Pt. & Rocks

Haddam were bought for thirty coats, worth perhaps a hundred dollars, being soon taken up by twenty-eight young men, mostly from Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield, and Haddam was incorporated in 1668. In 1663, the legislature approved of a proposition for a town in what is now Killingworth, and twelve planters from Hartford, Windsor, and Guilford moved into it at once, living on friendly terms with the Indians. In the process of filling in around the older towns, land west of Windsor was bought of the Indians in 1670, and the town of Simsbury settled, though six years later, the inhabitants, alarmed by the hostility of the Indians, buried their goods and went back to Windsor, and the savages destroyed every vestige of improvement so completely that on the return of the settlers they could scarcely find their property. As we have seen, in 1638, "New Haven village" was purchased, and it was not until 1670, that it was settled, and then it was called Wallingford, and four years later it received its own minister.

In 1672, the legislature granted liberty to William Curtis and others to make a plantation at Pomeraug; two years later, the settlement was constituted a town with the name of Woodbury, and Southbury was settled the same year. In 1673, a number of the inhabitants of Farmington obtained permission of the legislature to investigate the lands on the Naugatuck, then called Mattatuck, now Waterbury; the distresses of King Philip's war delayed the purchase and settlement, but in 1677, there were a few temporary huts on the east bank of the river, and in 1686, it was incorporated and the name changed to Waterbury. The settlement of Danbury, one of the county seats of Fairfield County, began in 1683. In 1675, Joshua, son of Uncas, the Mohican sachem, gave by will to Captain John Mason and fifteen others the tract containing Windham, Mansfield, and Canterbury, and in May, 1686, the main streets of Windham were laid out. In 1659, Governor Winthrop obtained permission of the legislature to buy a large tract of land, which in 1689, was

sold to people from Massachusetts, who settled Plainfield, and lived on friendly terms with the numerous Indians in the neighborhood.

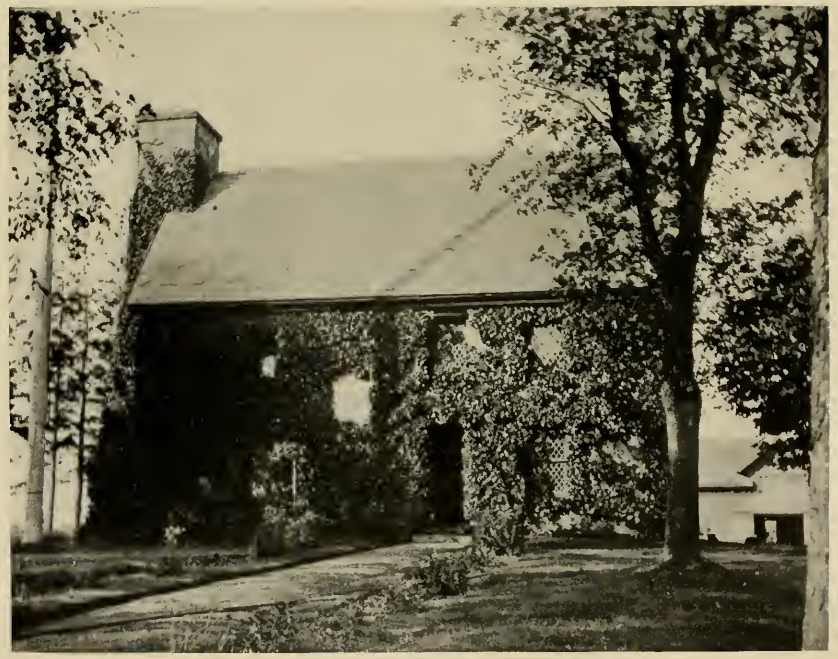
The organization of the towns stimulated vigor and individuality, furnishing a bulwark of singular pertinacity, and one method of strengthening this was the giving so many people something to do in public affairs. Every town had two or more townsmen, or, as they came to be called toward the end of the seventeenth century, selectmen, also justices of the peace, constables, town clerk, treasurer, highway surveyors—sometimes to the number of twenty, fence-viewers, listers, collectors of taxes, leather-sealers, grand jurors, tithing-men, haywards, or guardians of the boundaries, chimney-viewers, gaugers, packers, sealers of weights and measures, key-keepers, recorders of sheep marks, branders of horses, and others. These offices gave more or less of influence and authority, and a little salary to many men. If the oldest office in the town was the constable, the oldest institution was the pound, which is said to be older than the kingdom in the history of England. Before the community was recognized as a civic or religious unit, the settlers were given permission to "make and maintain a pound," sometimes without conditions, sometimes subject to the approval of the town from which the settlement was made. The next step was often a request for "winter privileges," with a remission of one half of the ministerial taxes; this was the case where the settlement was six or eight miles from the center. Sometimes the "liberty of a minister" was asked for at first, and sometimes, when the call was made for a pound there was also a petition for a separate church. Then followed the incorporation of the society by a charter from the legislature, following which was election of officers. Glastonbury stepped at once into the possession of the full privileges of a town. Towns were less republican than now, more overshadowed by the General Court, and questions regarding religious differences, choice of sites for meeting-

houses, organization of ministers, and settlement of ministers were decided by the legislature, with or without the request of the town. In the first sixty years it was easy to obtain permission to form a new town, but later on it was different, and some towns petitioned years for the privileges of incorporation. The settlement of the commonwealth was promoted by the coming of many settlers from England during the disturbances of the Puritan uprising, as well as by church quarrels and Anglo-Saxon enterprise.

CHAPTER IV

THE INDIANS

ONE of the most powerful influences affecting the early life of the settlers was that of the aborigines, the Indians, who belonged to the Algonkin stock, members of which were found from Labrador to South Carolina; King Philip, Powhatan, Pocahontas, and Black Hawk, who have appealed most to our novelists and dramatists, were all of Algonkin lineage. It is believed that widespread pestilences had carried off many of the natives, so that the process of taking possession of the country was less difficult, than it would have been a few years earlier. It was trying enough as it was, for the Indians were swift, wary, cruel in war, shrewd in council, ingenious and skillful with their devices. The name Connecticut is the same as the name of the Indians dwelling on its banks, and it vividly reminds us of the tribal title of the people, whose rude faces looked on the first boat-load of settlers ascending the river. It is pure guesswork to try to estimate the number of the Connecticut Indians. There is evidence that the Pequots could muster six hundred warriors, and it is probable that they were as numerous as all the other tribes of Connecticut combined. The Quinnipiacs extended along the shore from Milford to Madison, holding the bay of New Haven and the little rivers that empty into it as fishing-places. Yet when they sold their country in 1638, to Davenport and his associates, they could state that the number of men of their tribe was



Whitefield House, Guilford, in 1640. This Is the Oldest House in Connecticut, and the Oldest Stone-house in New England

only forty-seven, their total population being but two hundred souls. The sea-coast was the most thickly peopled, and next to this the river courses, on account of the fishing. The Paugussetts, who inhabited Stratford, Huntington, and the surrounding townships, and the Wepawaugs, who lived opposite them on the east bank of the Housatonics, were similar people, and were not very numerous. Litchfield County, the northern part of Fairfield County, and the western part of Hartford County were an uninhabited wilderness. On the Farmington River, ten miles west of Hartford, lived a small tribe, the Tunxis Indians, who, according to tradition, had been conquered some years before by the Stockbridge Indians. There was evidently a considerable tribe in the vicinity of Hartford, or it may have been a confederacy, as some of the same names are found attached to deeds in the town records from Windsor to Middletown. They embraced the bands that Blok in 1614, described as the "nation called the Sequins," with lodges on both sides of the river at or above the great bend at Middletown, and also the Nawaas with their fortified town at South Windsor. The capital of the Sequins, or Wangunks as they were afterwards called, was Middletown, and their chieftain Sowheag sold Wethersfield to the settlers. Allied with him was Sequasson, sachem of Hartford. In East Hartford and East Windsor lived the Podunks. There was a small clan in Haddam and East Haddam, much given to religious ceremonies, and who "drove a prodigious trade at worshiping the devil," being aided in their superstitious ceremonies by the earthquake shocks, or whatever else it was—the famous "Moodus noises"—prevailing in early times. Tolland and Windham counties had a scattered population of Nipmucks, who were peculiarly degraded and repulsive.

The Pequots, the most numerous, the fiercest, the bravest of all the tribes of Connecticut, had two forts at Mystic, but their wigwams extended for miles along the stony hills

of New London County, a district of about five hundred square miles; their northernmost community, the Mohicans, living on the Thames where Norwich and the neighboring towns are now. Pequots and Mohicans were of the same race as the Hudson River Mohicans, and not much before 1600, it is supposed that they abandoned their lodges on the Hudson and fought their way into southeastern Connecticut, killing and driving out the Indians there, going by way of Massachusetts, as Pequot traditions agree in asserting that they migrated from the north shortly before the arrival of the English. It is probable that the predecessors of the Pequots and Mohicans were of the same family as the Narragansetts; and since the Niantics of Lyme were connected with the Niantics of Rhode Island, and Sequasson, chief of Farmington and Connecticut River countries, was a connection of the Narragansett sachems, and the Indians of Windsor were closely united to the Wepawaugs of Milford, it appears reasonable that before the Pequots came upon the scene, the Rhode Island and Connecticut Indians were of one great family or confederation.

The interloping Pequots found themselves in a large and attractive country, furnishing ample food supply, and their fierce war parties swept into the Narragansett country on the east; and thrice their armies came into collision with Sequasson, the most powerful of the sachems of central Connecticut. Sequasson was completely overthrown, and became their subject until relieved by the English. The Pequots conquered as far as the bay of New Haven, compelling the Quinnipiacs to pay tribute. Then they crossed in their canoes to Long Island and to Block Island and extorted tribute there. The sagamore of the Mohicans was Uncas, a man of powerful build, and heir apparent to the Pequot sachemdom through the female line, his mother being aunt to the reigning sachem when the English moved to the river. Growing proud, and becoming treacherous, it is said, to the reigning sachem, he suffered repeated hum-

blings, and was driven from his country, and permitted to return only on the promise of submission.

After Wapegoot, the Pequot sachem, was slain, Uncas made claim to the sachemdom, but the aggressive Sassacus was chosen, and he with his twenty-six war captains became a terror to Uncas and the River Indians. The Narragansetts were the only tribe in New England which the Pequots had not conquered, and there was perpetual war between the two tribes. Canonicus was chief of the Narragansetts, but his wily nephew, Miantonomo, was the ruling spirit.

There was another reason why Uncas and the Indians on the river cordially welcomed the coming of the English, and that was the hostility of the Mohawks, fierce members of the Five Nations of the Iroquois in central New York, who were the leading Indian power in North America. The Connecticut Indians were in deadly fear of the Hudson River Indians, and when a band of those warriors appeared they fled with the cry, "The Mohawks are coming." The Mohawks would cry out, "We are come, we are come to suck your blood." When the Connecticut Indians could not escape to their forts, they would run into English houses for shelter, and sometimes the Mohawks would pursue so closely as to enter with them, and kill them in the presence of the family, if there was not time to shut the door, but they would never enter by force, nor would they injure the English. Every summer, two old Mohawks would visit the River Indians, issuing orders and collecting tribute. Up and down the Connecticut valley they passed, seizing wampum and weapons, and proclaiming the last stern edict of the savage council of Onondaga, heedless of the scowling Mohicans and Sequins, ground between Mohawks and Pequots.

The Indians were large, straight, well-built men, capable of enduring excessive hardships and torture. They could run a hundred miles in a summer day. They were unclean in their habits and cruel to the last degree. As a warrior

the Indian was a master, reveling in war. The approved tactics of our day are those which Indians developed, which the whites learned from them at large expense. Discipline was preserved, yet there was abundant opportunity for personal initiative. Their methods of signal service, finding and using cover, scouting, gaining information, keeping in touch with the enemy, learning as much as possible of the foe without self-betrayal, became a revelation to men familiar only with European ways. It is too much to say that the United States owes to Indians its independence, but they emphasized the value of individual effort, and taught a new science of warfare, by which the colonial troops harassed the British regulars to desperation, and overmatched English pluck and endurance.

The claim that a few Indians—perhaps six thousand—had a property right over great forest lands which they did not clear and till, whose boundaries they did not mark, on which they had no fixed habitation, about whose ownership they did not fight with one another, except over game, is about as reasonable as would be the claims of the bears of the wilds. As a rule the whites paid the Indians all the lands were worth, and saved not a few from death at the hands of other Indians. Pequots were interlopers equally with the English; they tortured captives to death, cut large gashes in the flesh and poured in live coals, and made sufferers eat pieces of their own bodies. True, it was a cruel age; torture was a civil institution in England and Scotland. As late as 1646, a woman had her tongue nailed to a board at Henley-on-the-Thames, because she complained of a tax levied by Parliament. Frontenac burned prisoners at the stake in 1692. It was a common thing for European armies to kill all prisoners.

It is not strange that the Indians should have been jealous of the English. It could not be otherwise when men determined, aggressive, and not too gentle, came in contact with a people little above the brutes, whose religion

was a kind of pantheism; the sun a god, the moon a goddess; every fish, bird, reptile, tree, endued with mysterious powers; whose religious leaders were conjurers; whose good god Kiehtan was a cloudy bewilderment of goodness, whom they thanked for favors; whose devil Hobbamocke received the majority of their prayers and offerings; whose women were slavish beasts of burden; whose ruling passions were ambition, envy, jealousy, revenge; whose treachery was surpassed by their suspicion of the treachery of others. "They are a people," wrote Edward Winslow, "without any religion or knowledge of God." Mather and Eliot were obliged to use the English word for the supreme being in describing their beliefs. They had no sacred days or machinery of religion, hence nothing entitled to the name of religious sentiments. The medicine-man or powwow was not so much a priest as a conjurer, a healer of diseases, and supposed to control the elements by virtue of mystic arts. The Algonkins had a myth-cycle of the rabbit, like the *tar-baby* tales. From the burial customs it is evident that Indians had some idea of a future life, but the belief in a happy hunting-ground is more radiant in the imagination of sentimental writers than in the faith of "these dregs of mankind," as their faithful friend, Roger Williams, called them; after extended experience with them, he said, "There is no fear of God before their eyes; and all the cords that ever bound the barbarians to foreigners were made of self and covetousness." In a letter to Winslow, Williams wrote, "Lying, stealing, lying and uncleanness are Indian epidemical sins."

The head chiefs were in absolute authority, surrounded by courtiers, the largest, wisest, bravest men, a bodyguard firm and undaunted, trained from boyhood by coarse fare and whips. The mugwump was head of a subtribal band, the boss of the concern; the hereditary sachem entertained travelers and ambassadors; he was brave, subtle, and sometimes eloquent, careful to move in accordance with the

wishes of the people. Indians usually hunted alone, but sometimes grand hunts were organized. Their dwelling places were made of poles set firmly in the ground, bent together and fastened at the top; the sides were covered with boughs, thatched with rushes or bark. Sanitary laws and cleanliness were unknown, and the diseases few but deadly, for want of proper treatment, and when the small-pox appeared it swept away hundreds of the people. Quinsies, pleurisies, rheumatisms, and quick consumption were common, and toothache a dreaded malady; Roger Williams records the fact that while they could endure every other pain with fortitude, this was too much for their resolution, and they would cry and groan after the most piteous fashion.

For curatives they used sweating, and sometimes purged the system with herbs, which they knew how to select. One mode of sweating was by standing closely wrapped over a hole in the earth containing a heated stone. Another was to remain an hour or more in a little cabin or sweating hut, which was always on the bank of a pond or stream, so that when the patient had perspired sufficiently, he could finish the prescription by a swift plunge in the water. But another method was considered vastly more efficacious, and the practitioner was the powwow, who began his treatment after receiving a present, the size of which regulated his violence and effectiveness. Attiring himself like a wild beast or gorgon, he entered the presence of the patient and began in a low tone to invoke the deities, singing and gesturing; becoming frantic and violent he closed with furious howls and shouts; the sick man, forgetting his pain, joined in the hideous song. After the powwow had exhausted himself and worked out his gift, he breathed a few times on the patient, and went away. If the disease was too deep and death came, friends would visit the mourners, stroking gently cheek or head and saying, "Be of good cheer." Then a respected man would adorn the body with such ornaments

as the relatives could afford, swathe it with skins and mats, and it was buried, and with it dishes of food and implements of war, while the relatives stood by with faces freshly painted in black.

In buying lands from the Indians there was a curious ceremony called *turf and twig*. In February, 1639, Ansantawae, sachem of the Paugussetts, sold to the English a considerable tract near the center of Milford. The purchasers laid down before the sachem six coats, ten blankets, one kettle, and a quantity of hoes, knives, hatchets, and looking-glasses. A twig and a piece of turf were handed to the chief by a follower, he stuck the twig into the turf and gave both to the English, indicating that he had passed over the soil and all it sustained. An instrument of sale was also drawn, and signed by leaders of both parties. The Indians were a trial in the early period, entering houses freely and sometimes causing accidents by their eagerness to handle firearms, hence penal laws were passed ordering that for handling weapons an Indian was to pay a fine of half a fathom of wampum. An Indian who came to a settlement by night might be summoned by the watchman, and if he refused to obey, he might be shot down. In times of Indian warfare it was sometimes ordered that no one except a magistrate should receive a native into his house. In 1647, Indians were forbidden to hire lands of the English, because of their corrupting influence on young men. Since the Indians complained of being cheated out of their territories, a law was passed in 1663, forbidding private individuals buying lands of them.

Connecticut was an Indian country, its colonies only two or three days' march on both sides from the most cruel and dangerous tribes in North America, and there were times when braves would lurk in the neighboring forest for three months waiting for the right opportunity to strike. It was stiff discipline: grim and bloody is the story of those bitter years; it was a rough experience for both races in that

stern age, and at length the English killed, drove out, or enslaved most of the Indians, after more than a century of fear and struggle.

Just how much the settlers owed the Indians, and how far the presence of the aborigines affected the settlements and the history, are questions it is hard to answer. No doubt the fact that there were powerful tribes had a decided influence on the method of procedure of the whites. Had the land been unoccupied by human beings, the English might have swarmed over America in a short time, and the compact settlement on the Connecticut and its neighborhood with the resulting government would perhaps never have existed. One of the important contributions of the Indians was the system of trails, camping-places, and trade-routes which they had established. The Bay Path was learned of the Indians by the first pioneers to Connecticut. Indians were an agricultural people and cultivated maize, squashes, pumpkins, beans, and tobacco. It was possibly due to the raising and storing of Indian corn that the occupation of the continent at that time was made possible. The general distribution of the plant brought from the south had long before taken place, and this, with wild roots and beans, often eked out the food supplies of the conquering race. The English learned from the Indians to plant corn in hills and to fertilize with fish. Governor Bradford says that in April, 1621, "They began to plant their corne, in which service Squanto stood them in great stead, showing ye manner how to set it and after how to dress and tend it. And he tould them, excepte they got fish and set with it (in these old grounds) it would come to nothing." Thomas Morton in his *New England's Canaan* says, "You may see in one township a hundred acres together set with fish, every acre taking 1000 of them, & an acre thus dressed will produce and yield as much corn as 3 acres without fish." In the early history of the English settlements there is frequent mention of the "barns" of the Indians. These

were holes made in the ground in which corn and other foods were cached, and these helped out the settlers. The corn-cribs set on posts are an Indian invention, and have been slightly changed by the white settlers. The hominy-mortar and the device of preserving corn on the cob by braiding the husks are mentioned by early chroniclers as Indian devices.

The influence of the Indians on the whites is suggested by the prevalence of such names as "Indian file," "Indian corn," "Indian summer," hickory, chipmunk, mugwump, moccasin, squash, woodchuck, toboggan, Saratoga, skunk, hominy, Tammany, and more than two hundred others. Indian in origin are such expressions as these: "fire-water," "paleface," "medicine-man," "Great Spirit," "happy hunting-grounds," "Great Father," "to bury the hatchet," "to smoke the pipe of peace," and "to take his scalp." The Indians were familiar with valuable febrifuges, purgatives, astringents, balsams, and stimulants, and the "Indian doctor" was sometimes called in by the settlers to stanch wounds and alleviate pain. Upon the Indian reputation in medicine many quacks and impostors have ventured their claims to cure dozens of diseases. Sweat-baths, corn-poultices, lobelia, witch-hazel, cascara, and scores of other terms suggest the wealth of Indian "folk-medicine." Ropes and strings were made of "Indian hemp." Corn-husk mats are of Indian origin, and the European settlers learned from their neighbors of many durable ways of staining and dyeing. The white settlers owed much to the Indians.

CHAPTER V

WARS WITH THE INDIANS

REFERENCE was made in the previous chapter to the influence of the Indians upon the English in training them for war, and the discipline came hot and heavy at the very start, for the settlers had barely secured a foothold and a covering when they were met by a sharp challenge and stern defiance from the most dangerous tribe in New England. During the sixteen years since the settlement of Plymouth the Indians had been in the main friendly, but so numerous were the English becoming that the Pequots from their forts at Groton determined to strike for their hunting-grounds. Outrages opened in 1634, when Captains Stone and Norton were killed by allies of the Pequots, while ascending the Connecticut to trade; the Pequot chiefs Sassacus and Ninigret were in the conspiracy and shared the plunder. In 1636, John Oldham, who had been appointed collector of tribute from the Pequots, was killed by them off Block Island, and his boat seized; the murderers were attacked by John Gallop, another trader, killed or driven off, and the body of Oldham, still warm, was found in the boat. The fugitives fled to the Pequots, where they gained protection. Although the Pequots had nothing to do with the affair, the Massachusetts government sent Captain Endicott with a force to avenge the murder, and after stopping at Block Island and destroying some Indian houses and two hundred acres of corn, he went to the mainland

and burned some of the Pequot wigwams, which, as Gardener, the commander of the Saybrook fort, told Endicott, was outrageous and would serve only to bring the Indians "like wasps about his ears," a prediction that came true. Sassacus tried to draw the Narragansetts into a general war, which might have annihilated the English settlements in Connecticut, but an ancient hostility toward their fierce rivals was too strong, reinforced as it was by the diplomacy of Roger Williams, who, at peril of life, visited the forts, and persuaded the Narragansett chiefs to go to Boston in the autumn, and conclude a treaty of peace and alliance with the English.

The formidable Pequots, left to battle alone, spared no pains to provoke resentment. Early in October, they attacked five haymakers from the Saybrook garrison; seized a man named Butterfield and tortured him to death, and a few days after, they took two men from a boat,—one they killed, the other, Joseph Tilly, was tortured to death by cutting off hands and feet. The Saybrook fort was in a state of siege all winter; outhouses and haystacks burned; cattle killed or wounded. It was worse in the spring as Indians watched roads and river. In March, Gardener, the commander, went out with ten men to work on the land; they were waylaid, three slain, the rest escaped to the fort, which was at once surrounded by a great number of Pequots, who challenged the English to come out and fight; mocking the groans and prayers of tortured men; boasting that they could kill the English "all one flies," until grape-shot drove them away. Not long after this, three men sailing down the river were overpowered, one man was killed and he fell overboard; the others were cut in two lengthwise and hung up on the river bank. In April, Indians went as far as Wethersfield and waylaid some farmers while going to their fields, killed two men, a woman, and child; they carried away two girls, killed twenty cows, and destroyed much other property.

In the midst of these calamities, the General Court met at Hartford, May 1, 1637, representing the little republic of eight hundred souls. It was a momentous time for the company of fifteen—six magistrates and nine committeemen, who were to decide the fate of Connecticut, at least for a time. They were surrounded by Indian tribes, scattered through the country from Hudson River to Narragansett Bay; these tribes united could have fallen upon the whites with a force of four or five thousand warriors. The Pequots had five hundred fighting men and no one could tell how soon fresh allies would join their forces. The Indians already had killed thirty people, and were growing bolder; there seemed to be no alternative. We are not surprised to read on the record the following vote, "It is ordered that there shall be an offensive war against the Pequots, and there shall be ninety men levied out of the three plantations of Hartford, Windsor and Wethersfield." Hartford was to furnish forty-two, Windsor thirty, and Wethersfield eighteen men. There have been longer sessions, and less pointed legislation since then, but none more effective. Busy days followed, and on Wednesday, May 10, the little army of ninety Englishmen and seventy Mohicans embarked in three small vessels, with the queer names of "a pink, a pinnace and a shallop." The commander was Captain John Mason, who had served in the Netherlands under Sir John Fairfax, and the chaplain was Samuel Stone. The vessels ran aground so frequently in the shallow waters of that season that Uncas begged leave to go ashore; when the English reached Saybrook fort on Monday, May 15, they found Captain John Underhill, with twenty men from Massachusetts, with Uncas, happy over a battle with the Pequots, in which seven had been killed and one captured. The last was handed over to the Mohicans, who tortured, roasted and ate him.

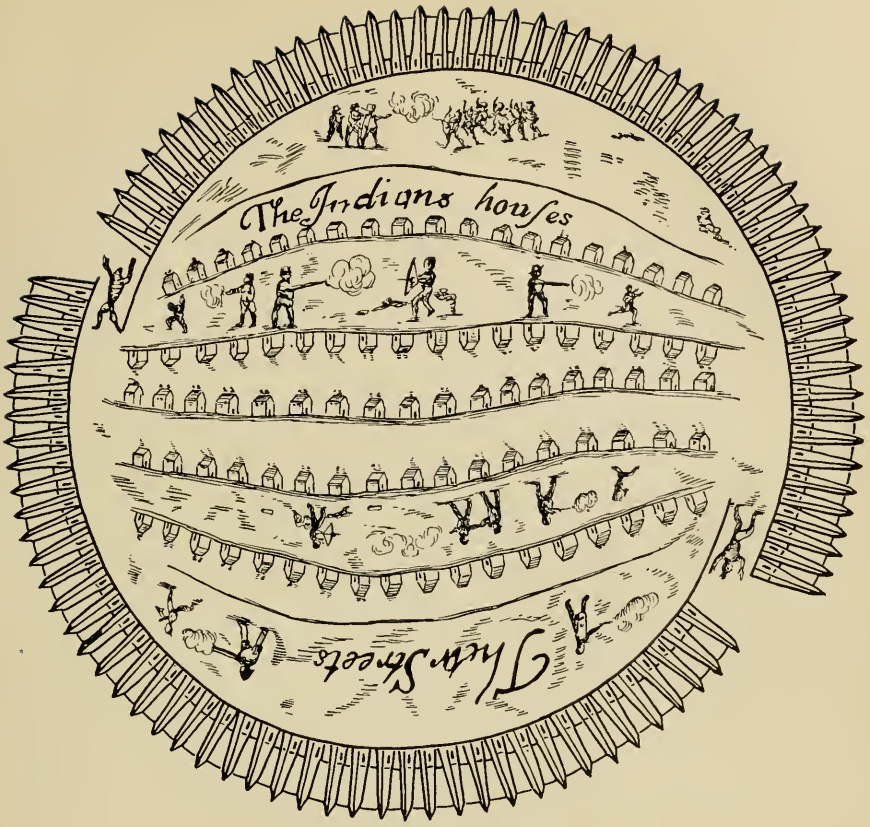
It was an anxious time for Captain Mason and his slender army, lying wind-bound from Monday until Friday in front

of the fort, knowing well that every motion was watched by sharp Pequot scouts, that his passage into the Thames would find the enemy well prepared, that the moment he landed his men on the rocky shore, Pequot warriors would hasten by the hundreds from the woods. His orders were to land near the mouth of the Pequot, now the Thames River, and attack the enemy from the west. The keen officer knew that it would be suicidal to leap into a swarm of arrows with his little band. There was delay, for the other officers and the men were in favor of obeying instructions to assault the Indian fort at once; they shrank from the long march through the woods on the east, and the long exposure of their homes through their absence. In the division of opinion, Chaplain Stone played a valuable part: urged by Captain Mason to pray for guidance, he spent most of Thursday night in prayer; the next morning he reported the harmony of the captain's plan with the divine will. It was decided to send twenty men to Hartford to strengthen the home guard, while Captain Underhill, with nineteen men, took their places.

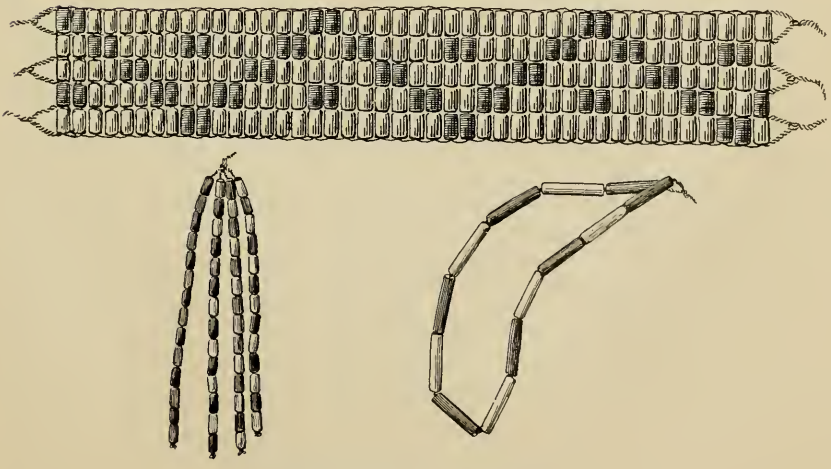
It was a stiff undertaking, for it was learned from the two Wethersfield girls, captured by the Indians and brought back by the Dutch, who had exchanged for them six Indians, that the Pequots had sixteen muskets, and knew how to use them. Following the good judgment of Captain Mason, backed up by the prayers of the chaplain, the tiny fleet set sail for Narragansett Bay, determined to march through the woods across Rhode Island, and crush the Indians by night. They passed Watch Hill and Point Judith and on Saturday evening reached Narragansett Pier, and came to anchor near Tower Hill, where they spent Sunday on shipboard, a northwest gale preventing the landing before Tuesday at sunset. Then the captain led his army to an Indian village, not far away, where was a Narragansett chief, who approved of the design of the expedition and the program, but thought the force too small

to deal with an enemy, which was, as he said, "very great captains, and men skilful in war."

During Tuesday night, an Indian runner came from Providence to tell Mason that Captain Patrick was on his way from Massachusetts with a small body of troops, but Mason balanced the value of surprise against the importance of additional troops, and decided to push on at once. He set out through the wilderness Wednesday morning, May 24, with "seventy-seven brave Englishmen, sixty frightened Mohicans, and four hundred terrified Narragansetts and Niantics." They marched twenty miles to Niantic, a village of the Narragansetts, on the borders of the Pequot country. The chief, fearing the enmity of the Pequots, refused admission to the English for the night. On Thursday, Mason advanced fifteen miles to a place five miles northwest of Stonington, near a hill, where stood the principal stronghold of the Pequots, a few miles from the residence of Sassacus. The day was sultry and oppressive, some of the men fainted from heat, and most of the Narragansetts, "being possessed with great fear," fell behind. Evidently the Pequots had not been alarmed, since the sentinels of the English could hear the noisy revels in the fort, celebrating possibly the departure of the English in fear. Had there been a seer among those fierce men in that fort on the hill a mile west of Mystic, he might well have thrilled his companions with a tragic tale, for it was the last night of the Pequot tribe on earth. It was a clear, beautiful evening in spring, and amid the weird shadows cast by the trees in the bright moonlight, the soldiers, exhausted by the march, threw themselves on the ground and slept. "The rocks were our pillows," said Mason, "but rest was pleasant." About an hour before light, the men were roused and bidden make ready for battle. The moon still shone on them as Chaplain Stone prayed softly for the help of God, and soon the little army was in motion for the fort two miles away on Pequot Hill. They feared



The Plan of the Pequot Fort



Belt and Strings of Wampum

at first that they were on the wrong track, but were reassured when they saw a field of corn newly planted, and soon Uncas the chief and Wequash the guide came near. "Where is the fort?" asked Mason. "On the top of that hill," was the answer. "Where are the rest of the Indians?" asked the commander. "Tell them not to fly, but to stand off as far as they please, to see whether Englishmen will fight."

The fort was a nearly circular area of several acres, enclosed by trunks of trees set firmly in the ground close together, and rising to the height of twelve feet. Within were seventy wigwams in two rows. There were two entrances, one on the northeast side, the other on the west. Mason led at one, and Underhill at the other. The Pequots had no sentinels, and the garrison was sound asleep. When the storming party was within a rod of the palisade, an Indian dog barked, and a voice of an Indian was heard shouting, "Owanux! Owanux!" (Englishmen, Englishmen). No time was lost. Mason pushed away the brush before the entrance and led sixteen men into the enclosure; a desperate hand-to-hand struggle began with the Indians who swarmed from the wigwams like bees. Some of the Pequots began to shoot from the doors of their lodges. One of them was on the point of shooting Mason through the head, when a soldier cut the bowstring with his sword. Soon the captain saw two soldiers lowering their swords toward the earth as though the undertaking were hopeless; the attacking party was getting out of breath as it swept through the area, killing the braves right and left; some of the whites were wounded, two were dead. "We shall never kill them this way; we must burn them," shouted Mason, touching a firebrand to the mats which covered a hut. The fire, fanned by a rising northeaster, spread through the fort. Underhill set the other side afire with a train of gunpowder, and the English were driven from the furnace. In an hour the fort was in ashes; English muskets shot down a part of

those that escaped, and the native allies brought down nearly all the rest. "It is reported by themselves," said Underhill, "that there were about four hundred souls in this fort, not above five of them escaped out of our hands." Mason said that seven hundred perished, and seven were captured. Of the English, two were killed and twenty wounded.

There was another Indian fort a few miles farther west, near the path to Pequot harbor, where Mason had arranged to meet the vessels; food and ammunition were almost spent; the surgeon was on shipboard; the heat was overpowering, and early in the day, the Indians from the other garrison, seeing the smoking ruins of their neighbors, tore their hair, and working themselves into a frenzy, rushed upon the Englishmen to avenge the slaughter, but Mason, hiring his allies to carry away the wounded, drove back the enemy, and at evening the soldiers embarked and returned to Hartford, after an absence of three weeks.

On the day after the battle, the last council of the Pequot nation was held, at which a program for the future was adopted. It was decided, after a stormy debate, to burn their wigwams and supplies and join the Mohawks on the Hudson. Thirty men, with as many women and children, took refuge in a swamp near their former home. Stoughton of Massachusetts with one hundred and twenty men found them there and killed all the men but two, who were kept for guides to lead the English to Sassacus, the fugitive chieftain. Thirty-three of the Pequot women were given to the Indian allies; the remainder were sent to Massachusetts and sold as slaves. The captured women reported that thirteen sachems had been slain, and that thirteen survived.

In June, the Connecticut Court met at Hartford and ordered Mason to go with forty men to carry on the war. He joined Stoughton with his Massachusetts men at New London. It was decided to follow Sassacus in his flight to the Hudson. Grim, persistent, relentless attack and pursuit were the program; the conduct of the Indians in their flight

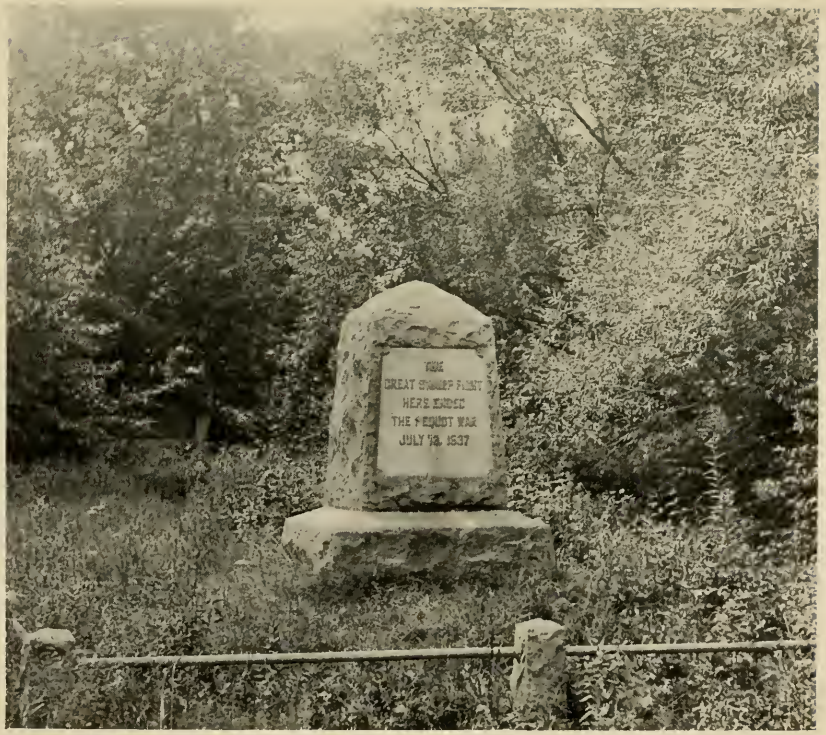
did not dull the edge of the sword; Sassacus and Monotto with the main body of the tribe, while crossing the Connecticut, killed three men in a canoe and hung their bodies on trees; Mason, Stoughton, and Uncas were on their track. Sachem's Head gained its name from the fact that Uncas cut off the head of a Pequot chief and hung it in an oak there. In hot pursuit Mason overtook the foe in a swamp in Fairfield, where the Indians made a stand; a cordon was formed about the Pequots; all who were not red-handed from the murder of whites were offered life; it was specially desired to save local Indians who had fled to the swamp in terror of vengeance, and also the women and children of the Pequots. Some availed themselves of the offer, all but the men. In a thick fog the Indians fell upon the English, but were repulsed; in the hand-to-hand struggle which followed many Pequots were killed, and one hundred and eighty captured. A massive block of granite has been recently placed in the swamp with the inscription:

The Great Swamp-Fight
Here Ended
The Pequot War
July 13, 1637

Sassacus was not present at the swamp fight. Accused by his people of being the author of their misfortunes, he fled westward to the country of the Mohawks, with a few warriors. The Mohawks, hating the Pequots as cordially as did the English, and wishing to conciliate the latter, beheaded Sassacus, his brother, and five sachems, sending their scalps to Connecticut. In the autumn a black, glossy lock of hair was received in Boston; it was from the head of Sassacus, who was more fortunate than Uncas, who lived to be a degraded, drunken dependent of the English.

This victory benefited Uncas, who with Miantonomo, sachem of the Narragansetts, met the magistrates at Hart-

ford, September 21, 1737, and a treaty was formed between Connecticut, the Mohicans, and the Narragansetts, according to which there was to be perpetual peace. Connecticut was to have the territory of the Pequots, remnants of whom were to be absorbed by the Mohicans and Narragansetts, and the name Pequot was to cease, save in that sightly elevation Pequot Hill, on which stands a rude bowlder crowned by a bronze statue of Captain John Mason, and the stately soldier is in the act of drawing his sword. The later years of Uncas were not enviable, though he had the pleasure of giving away or selling for a trifle large tracts of land about Norwich, often with boundaries covering previous grants, until in 1680, becoming alarmed at approaching poverty, he applied to the legislature to take jurisdiction over his remaining property, allowing him compensation for sales; agreeing to keep the peace and to assist the colony in case of attack. The Assembly accepted the trust, promising to give good advice if Uncas were attacked, and furnish ammunition at a fair price. Uncas lived only two or three years to enjoy this one-sided arrangement, dying in 1682, or 1683. His son Owenico was in a still more pitiful state at the end. In 1680, he made over all the lands his father had given him on the Quinnebaug to James Fitch, his loving friend, as he called him, giving as a reason for the deed the fact that some of the English extorted land from him by importunities, and others by inducing him to sign papers while he was under the influence of strong liquors. James Fitch was son of the Norwich minister, but unlike his father was grasping and eager for land. One night Owenico became very drunk, fell out of his canoe, and would have drowned had it not been for two settlers, to one of whom he gave one hundred acres of land. This princely Owenico, the brave warrior in early manhood, fighting gallantly the Pocomtocks, Pocanokets, and Narragansetts, became a vagabond in his old age. With squaw, blanket, gun, and a pack on his back, he wandered about the settle-



The Monument at the Scene of the Swamp Fight, Westport

ments, presenting to strangers who could not understand his English the following doggerel:

Oneco, king, his queen doth bring,
To beg a little food;
As they go along his friends among
To try how kind, how good.

Some pork, some beef, for their relief,
And if you can't spare bread,
She'll thank you for a pudding, as they go a-gooding,
And carry it on her head.

The question now arises, can we justify this fearful campaign? The war would not have been waged at that time had not the Endicott expedition, carried on in defiance of the judgment and wishes of Connecticut, enraged the Pequots. After thirty murders by the savages, Connecticut was obliged to take the field. It was clear to the wisest and best men in Connecticut that the question was squarely before them, either to slay or to be slain.

The next Indian war was in 1675–76, and the Indians were far more dangerous than the Pequots of thirty-eight years before. Their weapons were no longer confined to the spear, the arrow, the tomahawk, and the scalping-knife; firearms with powder and shot were in their hands. They were also better acquainted with the methods of the English, who in turn had been studying the ways of the Indians. While many armed men went forth from the Connecticut villages in King Philip's war, the battle scenes were outside the colony, though heavy losses fell within. King Philip, the Indian leader, was sachem of the Wampanoags, and his chief fort was at Mount Hope, in the eastern part of the town of Bristol in Rhode Island. For several years it had been supposed among the colonies that the Indians were forming a general conspiracy, with the purpose of ridding their hunting-grounds of people

who seemed to the independent sachems as intruders and usurpers. John Sausaman, a Christian Indian, who had once been a subject of Philip, told the English of the plot. Philip secured the murder of Sausaman. The murderers were tried by English laws and executed. Philip armed his subjects and began to march up and down the country. In June, he made an attack on Swanzey near Mount Hope, killing nine and wounding seven of the people. Other places in the neighborhood were attacked, and the colonies sent soldiers against them. The Narragansetts did not enter very cordially into the alliance, which Philip sought to make as general as possible. They did harbor the old men and women of their warlike neighbors. The chiefs of the Narragansetts, with Canonchet at their head, for a time resisted the appeals of Philip, and a treaty was forced from them which they soon violated. The commissioners of the United Colonies, convinced that the Narragansetts were aiding Philip, decided that an army of a thousand men should be sent against the Indian headquarters in the Narragansett country. Of these Connecticut furnished three hundred Englishmen, and one hundred and fifty Pequot and Mohican Indians, with Major Treat in command.

On December 18, 1675, these made a junction with the Massachusetts and Plymouth forces. Wading through the snow until about one o'clock, they reached the vicinity of the Indian fort, which was on a hill in the center of a great swamp. The fort was attacked with spirit, and after considerable loss was taken and given to the flames; hundreds of the Indian warriors were killed, many captured, and many perished in the snow. It was a costly victory for the colonists, as eighty were killed or mortally wounded, and the sufferings on the return were extreme. Of the five Connecticut captains, three, Seely, Gallup, and Marshall were killed, and Captain Mason died of a wound nine months afterwards. It was a fearful winter for many towns in Massachusetts, as the enemy had lost their dwellings and

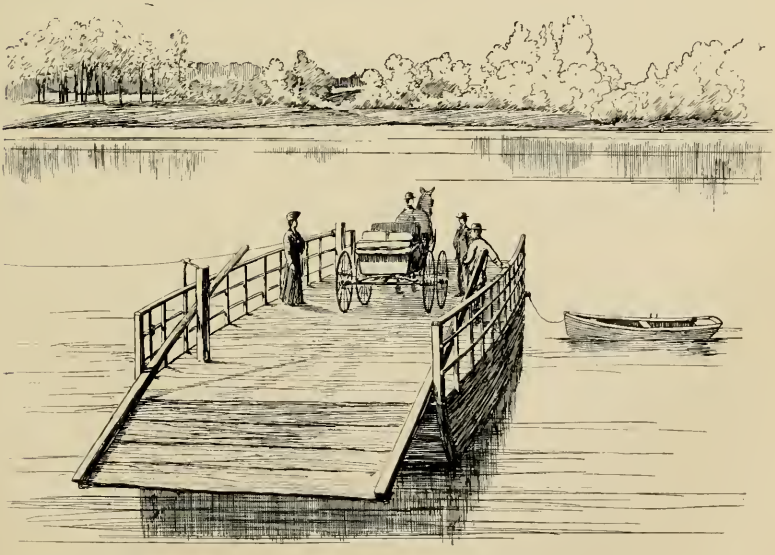
provisions, and there was little to detain them in Rhode Island. March brought disasters to Northampton, Springfield, Chelmsford, Groton, Sudbury, and Marlborough; Northfield, Hadley, and Deerfield were also sufferers. Connecticut troops with many faithful Pequots under Majors Talcott and Treat ranged through the country back and forth, destroying many warriors and capturing others, and at length the war came to an end. It is impossible to estimate the number of Indians engaged. About six hundred of the sturdiest men in the colonies were killed and wounded, and the country was in mourning. Connecticut suffered nothing from the ravages of the enemy in this war, but it was a time of dread; palisades were erected, guns kept within reach, garrison houses built, heavy expenses incurred, but the country was rid of a dangerous enemy by a campaign determined and thorough. The most serious loss was incurred in the great swamp fight, and the valor of the soldiers was thus described by the General Assembly:

> There died many brave officers and sentinels whose memory is blessed, and whose death redeemed our lives. The bitter cold, the tarled swamp, the tedious march, the strong fort, the numerous and stubborn enemy they contended with, for their God, King, country, be their trophies our death. Our mourners over all the colony witness for our men that they were not unfaithful in that day.

Despite all that has been said to disparage the treatment the Indians received at the hands of the whites, the careful student of the times must admit that it was fair. In the nature of the case there were cases of meanness, cruelty, and revenge. There were men, who, after seeing wife and children butchered in cold blood in midnight assault, spent the remainder of their days in killing with a kind of mania, a method which partook of the severity of the savage race, and there were many whites who fell below the purpose which filled the minds of some of the noblest of the Puritans when

they came hither: "the glory of God, and the everlasting welfare of these poore, naked sonnes of Adam." But there were efforts made to teach and evangelize them. In 1650, the colony made some provision for their religious education. In 1654, the General Court, lamenting that so little had been done through want of an able interpreter, ordered that Thomas Myner of Pequot (New London) send his son John to Hartford "where this Court will provide for his maintenance and schooling, to the end that he may be, for the present, assistant to interpret the things of God to them as he shall be directed." Rev. Abraham Pierson of Branford learned the Indian language and preached to the Indians; Fitch and Narber did likewise. Gookin and John Eliot entered the colony for the same purpose, but only the scantiest results followed. In 1657, John Eliot, "the apostle to the Indians," was in Hartford at a council of ministers, and desiring to preach to the natives, some of the Podunks across the river were gathered to listen to him. He spoke to them in their own language, and when they were urged to become Christians, they answered angrily, saying that the English had taken away their land and now they were attempting to make the Podunks their servants. It is not strange that men who were addicted to war, revenge, and laziness should have found little in the Bible to please them. The friendly and patient Rev. James Fitch of Norwich did everything in his power to Christianize the Mohicans, preaching to them in 1671, and later, but he was forced to admit that "Uncas and Owenico at first carried it teachably and tractably, till they discerned that practical religion would throw down their heathenish idols, and the tyrannical authority of the sachems; then they went away and threw off their people, some by flatteries, some by threats." Embittered by their poverty and misery before the advancing prosperity of the English, the Indians were in no mood to receive, with the humility required, the teachings of their conquerors, though the commissioners of the

A Pastoral Scene in Woodstock. Pulpit Rock in Foreground, from which John Eliot Preached to the Indians in 1670



Bissell's Ferry in Windsor, in Continuous Operation since about 1645

Redrawn from an Old Print

United Colonies voted money for their education in New Haven. Stone, Newton, and Hooker taught in Farmington an Indian school from 1648, to 1697, and further records of the school are dated 1733–36. At one time there were fifteen Tunxis Indians in the school, and in the list of church members of the Farmington church are the names of Solomon Mossock, admitted June, 1763, and Eunice Mossock, admitted in September, 1765. In 1728, a grandson of Captain John Mason taught the Mohicans English and religion, receiving for his services fifteen pounds, and in 1727, a law was passed ordering masters and mistresses to teach their Indian servants to read English, and also the Christian faith by catechizing them, under a penalty of not over forty shillings. In 1733, the legislature made an appropriation for the Indian school at Farmington, and in 1736, contributions for Indian education were ordered from the churches at the next Thanksgiving.

The most celebrated school for the Indians was the "Moor Indian Charity School" in Lebanon. Samson Occum, who had been converted in 1740, in the Great Awakening, applied to Rev. Eleazer Wheelock, the pastor in Lebanon, who began preaching to the Indians in 1735; the application was made in 1745, and for three years the young Mohican received instruction from Wheelock. In 1754, Joshua Moor left, after death, his house and two acres for a school. Wheelock gathered pupils in that house, beginning, in 1754, with two Delawares; soon others followed. In 1762, there were over twenty: one Mohican, six Mohawks, and the rest Delawares. Contributions came in from various quarters. Four Indian girls were taught sewing and housework. Occum was ordained by the presbytery of Suffolk Long Island in 1759, and he became a successful preacher to his people, though it is painful to be obliged to say that this lonely and comparatively respectable product of Christianity among the Indians vibrated between drunkenness and repentance. Thackeray would

say that he wept over his sins until he grew thirsty, then drank again.

Like similar schools in later days, the treasury was usually empty, and in 1766, Occum and Nathanael Whitaker went to Great Britain for money. The presence of the Mohican there made a decided sensation, and there were large contributions to the Lebanon school; the king gave two hundred pounds, Lord Dartmouth fifty pounds, and soon seven thousand pounds was gathered from England and two thousand from Scotland. In 1770, the school moved to some lands that were opening in Hanover, New Hampshire, and it became the foundation of Dartmouth College. Here and there the Indians lingered in Connecticut, with an occasional "praying Indian" like good old Mamousin of the Mattabesetts, but most of them were ignorant, poor, degraded, and licentious—miserable relics of a barbarous race.

This story from that stern, fierce age is too bloody to be romantic, too bitter and cruel to be proud of, too sad to dwell upon longer. It is a story of courage and daring on both sides. It is not strange that the Indians should have hated the English, when they saw their hunting-grounds vanishing. Nothing short of miracles could have prevented injustice and ill-feeling. The destruction of the Pequots and the Narragansetts has been stigmatized as cruel by critics, sitting in their studies or on their verandas, but there was only one issue—to destroy or be destroyed. The struggle had to come, soon or late. Indians, wolves, and panthers were doomed to death or exile. The work of extermination was done in a grim age, thoroughly, save for a few that yielded to the civilizing influences so patiently exerted: some went to newer parts of the country; some stayed in Connecticut communities, as slaves or thievish, drunken remnants of a race in which civilization found thin soil. The descendants now living in the state are hardly enough to count.

CHAPTER VI

FORMING THE GOVERNMENT

THE process of establishing a government over a new state by men of such decided ideas and keen consciences was a difficult one, and they could not take the mother colony of Massachusetts as a model in every respect because, as we have seen, their settlement on the Connecticut was due in part to a protest against the methods of the Bay State. New ground had to be broken in the forming of constitution and laws, and the process was necessarily one of evolution. As soon as the sharp collision with the Pequots was over, the able men, with whom the young commonwealth was well supplied, addressed themselves resolutely to the task of establishing a system of laws which would make permanent and secure the principles which had led to the migration.

It is impossible to understand the early conditions without taking notice of the fact that Springfield was settled at the same time with Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield. In 1635, William Pynchon, the principal man of Roxbury, Massachusetts, with the main body of the church and community, followed the Indian trail, the famous Bay Path, westward until he reached Agawam or Springfield, at the intersection of a trail north and south,—a convenient center for trade in furs; and near Enfield Falls, Pynchon built a warehouse, at a place now called Warehouse Point, convenient for the Agawam settlers. From the first, the emigrants on the Connecticut were recognized as four distinct

companies, and William Pynchon and Henry Smith represented the Roxbury party.

There is one thing to be made clear at this point and that is that the towns did not migrate as towns; not one half of the Dorchester people went to Connecticut; of the ten townsmen elected in 1634, only three went; of the nine elected in 1635, only three went, and of the thirteen later, only four migrated. There is nothing in the records to indicate a removal or reorganization. The assessment lists of Massachusetts contain the names of Newtowne, Dorchester, and Watertown after 1636. Companies from those towns migrated and not towns. In each of the three settlements on the Connecticut there was the embryo of a town, which in four years came into organization, having of course local management from the first, but the government was purely democratic, and not the government of an independent town. The settlements were forced to form a provisional government early, for the dreams of trading with the Indians as a lucrative line of business in addition to farming soon changed into the stark proposition of fighting the fiercest tribe in New England. The agricultural settlements changed into armed camps, and farmers into soldiers.

The first government was provisional, and was under the authority of Massachusetts, which gave her first recognition of the Connecticut plantations in June, 1635, appointing one of the settlers as constable, "sworn constable of the plantations, till some other be chosen." Three months later, permission was given by the mother colony for the loan of military stores, and the election by each plantation of its own constable, who was to be sworn in by a magistrate of the Bay Colony. The constable was a commander of militia, and the first organization was for defense. When Massachusetts was forced to allow the churches to emigrate, the Newtowne church came to Hartford in the spring of 1636, with its two ministers, and a new stage of organization began. It is clear that the church organiza-

tion did not coincide then with the town organization; it certainly did not in Wethersfield, where seven men constituted the legal church, while there were more than fifty in the plantation. At a later time town and church were one, but at first the township was broader than the parish.

In March, 1636, the Massachusetts Court instituted a provisional government under a commission, or in the quaint words of the time, "graunted to severall prsons to governe the People att Connecticott fr the Space of a Yeare nowe nexte comeing," and it ordered that Roger Ludlowe, Esquire, William Pynchon, Esquire, John Steele, William Swaine, Henry Smith, William Phelps, William Westwood, and Andrew Ward, "or the greatr pte of them shall haue full power and aucthoritie." It was a court for the investigation of questions that might arise, and for the decision of all public matters pertaining to the settlements. This was the first General Court, and its authority came from the mother colony, which expected these eight magistrates to issue decrees and govern the towns. This Court met eight times between April 26, 1636, and May 1, 1637, Agawam not being represented until the fifth meeting on November 1, 1636. The Massachusetts Court provided that after the close of a year for which the eight commissioners were appointed, there could be held a convention of the inhabitants "to any convenient place that they shall think meet, in a legal and open manner by way of court." It came to pass that on March 3, 1637, Connecticut ceased to acknowledge political dependence on Massachusetts, and in the next Court the people were represented by committees to the number of nine men, who were present with the magistrates at the session of May 1, 1637, to take action concerning the Pequots, the additional men being called to act with the magistrates on account of the gravity of the situation. Under this arrangement the Connecticut people were governed for three years, war being undertaken, troops equipped, heavy taxes levied and collected and the Pequots destroyed, with

but little help from Massachusetts. The inhabitants signed a written compact of local government May 14, 1636, and by action of the court which met in February, 1637, Newtowne became Hartford, Watertown Wethersfield, and Dorchester Windsor. The basis of this government was the assumed consent of the grantees under the alleged Warwick patent, represented by John Winthrop, Jr., rather than on any inherent authority of the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

One of the earliest acts of the court was to declare officially that the government of the towns was determined by the constables—the military officers, with cannon, watch, and train-band, and this was done in April, 1636, when it was voted that the three plantations could each appoint a constable. It thus appears that the towns drew their authority from the government established by Massachusetts, and this Court went on to bound and name settlements, increase the powers for self-support and defense, and legally organize the church in Wethersfield. Hartford was more advanced than the other plantations, and was probably first to establish a town organization, which was started in December, 1639. There is no evidence of official organization in the towns in the first years, and the only officers were probably a constable, collector, and commissioner for each town, selected by the central authority. In short, there was a provisional government in 1636–37, an independent government in 1637–38, and a regularly organized government in 1639.

At the court of March 8, 1637, Pynchon and Smith represented Agawam, and again at the court of March 28, 1638; a tax for the Pequot war was levied upon the up-river settlement, the separation of which from the others came in 1638, being hastened by a business difficulty. The General Court gave a monopoly of the trade with the Indians to Pynchon, on condition that he supply Connecticut with five hundred bushels of corn at five shillings a bushel. A bitter

controversy followed, as Pynchon was charged with bad faith, and was fined forty bushels of corn, but an olive branch was offered him in the shape of a monopoly of the beaver trade. The four towns evidently worked together through the fall of 1648, for an Agawam culprit was then punished by the General Court, and Hooker spoke in the fall of that year of magistrates from the four towns. On January 14, 1639, the court met, but Agawam had no part in it, and two days later, the fine was demanded of Pynchon. Massachusetts hesitated to take Agawam, which seemed as far away as the Philippines do now; Cotton Mather expressed the opinion many held in Massachusetts of the settlements on the Connecticut when he said that "worthy, learned and genteel persons were going to bury themselves alive on the banks of the Connecticut." The colonists decided the question for themselves and on February 14, 1639, Agawam voted to cast in her lot with Massachusetts, and on April 16, 1640, it was voted to wipe out the Connecticut name and "call the plantation Springfield." It was several years before the matter was entirely settled; Haynes and Hooker went to Boston to propose a renewal of the treaty, though nothing came of it, and it was ten years before Springfield delegates were received at the court at Boston.

The earliest place for the assembling of the court may have been at the home of one of the magistrates, and after a little while at the meeting-house, probably not far from the site of the Hartford Post-office. Some have held that the place of assembling until 1661, was in an upper room in the meeting-house, but others have insisted that since that room was but ten feet square it is improbable that such was the case. There is no certain information on the subject of the meeting place until September, 1661, when the General Court took up its abode for nearly fifty years in Jeremy Adams's tavern, which was situated on a lot of two or three acres south of "Meeting house Yard," a little south of the present City Hall Square. There was a well on the

north of the lot one hundred and twenty-five feet from Main Street, and the tavern stood fifty or sixty feet back of the well. There is a record of 1661, that "Jer. Adams hath mortgaged his house and home lot whch. he bought of John Mouice with all other ye buildings erected thereon since his Purchase (unto Capt. John Talcott as Treasurer to Connecticut Collony)," and in the Colonial Records of May, 1662, "It is granted and ordered by this court upon the motion and desire of Jeremiah Adams that ye house that the said Jeremy doth now possess and improve for an Ordinary, or house of common entertainment, shalbe and remaine to ye said Jeremie and his successors, provided as hereafter expressed." This license was perpetual, obligatory, and irrevocable, and the colony was mortgagee of the tavern. Among the requirements aside from the usual "accommodation and provision for the entertainment of Travellers with horse and otherwise and that both respecting wine and liquors and other provision for food and comfortable refreshing, both for man and beast," was this, that Adams was to provide "a chamber for the meeting of the court, furnished with chairs and tables, a large leather chair and carpet, with accommodation for forty or fifty people." In that court chamber the committee of the Indian Court met in 1678; there laws were enacted to establish new towns and settle difficulties in older ones; to provide for taxes for King Philip's war and guard against the dreaded Quakers; to settle estates and allay church quarrels; to arrange treaties with Indians and determine the policy toward England and the other colonies; to decide on post roads and decree the ordinances of trade and commerce. There Winthrop described his brilliant success with Charles II., and there it is probable was held the controversy with Andros over the charter and the government of the colony.

Jeremy Adams died in 1684, and the following year the court appointed a committee to make sale of the house and lot, authorized the treasurer to sign the deed of sale,

indicating that the colony was proprietor in fee; on December 2, 1685, the lot was conveyed by the treasurer to Zachary Sanford, grandson of Jeremy Adams, and the court continued to sit in the court chamber of the tavern. In 1713, Landlord Sanford died, and by his will the tavern and home lot passed to his daughter Sarah and her husband, Jonathan Bunce. The tavern had grown dilapidated, and soon after the death of Sanford the court moved to the new tavern of Caleb Williamson, which stood on the site of the old Travelers' Building. As the colony advanced in wealth and importance, it became evident that more suitable provision should be made for the General Court, and in October, 1717, the Colonial Records tell us it was voted "that a quantity of the ungranted lands of the Colony be sold to procure" six hundred and fifty pounds for a state-house, besides money for county court-houses. A year later it was voted to allow five hundred pounds toward the state-house, and a building committee was appointed to consist of William Pitkin, Joseph Talcott, and Aaron Cook. In 1719, it was voted that this committee

with all convenient speed proceed to carry on said building according to the dimensions given or agreed upon by this Assembly, viz. 70 foot in length, 30 foot in width, and 24 foot between joynts & that in pursuance thereof the said committee are ordered to receive of the committees appointed for the sale of land the sum of 500 pounds, which the said committees are hereby ordered to pay to the said committee for building the State House: and that the county of Hartford shall pay toward the finishing of said State House the sum of 250 pounds, and it shall be requisite to the finishing said house, which sum this Assembly impower the judges of the county court of Hartford to levy upon the polls, and what is wanting, draw on the public Treasury.

The further specifications of the building were as follows:

With a range of pillars under the middle of the beams of the chamber floor, a door on each side, & at each end, a staircase at

the south-west, and another at the south-east corner; two chambers of 30 foot long at each end, one for the Council and another for the Representatives, with a space of 12 foot between the 2 houses, and a staircase into the garrets, and on either side a lobby to the council chamber will serve the occasions designed by the Assembly.

This building stood on the west side of the square, near Main Street, and it had a gambrel roof. In 1792, the General Assembly appointed a committee to build a state-house of brick, and Hartford county bore part of the expense that it might have a room in the building for its courts. This well-known state-house was completed in 1795, and was in use by the Assembly from 1796, to 1878. The present state-house was completed in January, 1880, and it is upon a site bought by the city of Trinity College. The cost of erection was three million three hundred and forty-two thousand dollars, and it is the custom to emphasize the fact that it was finished within the appropriation.

The place of meeting in New Haven for the legislature was the meeting-house; in 1717, the first county house was built on the northwest of the Green, to accommodate the General Court and also the Superior and County Courts. In 1763, a state-house of brick was built between Center and Trinity churches; in 1827, the imposing structure west of the Center Church, modeled after the Parthenon, was erected, and was in use until 1875, after which Hartford became the sole place of meeting of the General Assembly. The salary of the early governors was modest, since on November 9, 1641, it was ordered "that one hundred and sixty bushels of Corne shall be sent in by the County to the Governor, to be levied upon the towns by the proportion of the last vote." Four years later the salary was thirty pounds in "wheat, pease and corne."

We do not know when the settlers of the three towns discovered that they were not within the limits of Massachusetts, but on January 24, 1639, the fathers of the colony

Yale College at the Left and State House near the Middle, Center Church at the Right, New Haven. Early in the Nineteenth Century

met at Hartford, either in a popular gathering as Trumbull says, or through the Court, which is more probable, and drew up a form of government for the colony, a system similar to that of Massachusetts, except that it came into shape at one time, instead of through a course of years. The "Orders" have been called a "Constitution," but they were more like statute law, for they contained no provision for amendment, and when amended later, it was through the ordinary process of legislative action. It was really a plantation covenant with the addition of eleven legislative statutes.

The seed of the Connecticut government was in a sermon preached by Hooker, May 31, 1638, of which Henry Wolcott, Jr., of Windsor took notes, and from those notes we learn that the Hartford minister laid down the doctrine: I. That the choice of public magistrates belongs unto the people by God's own allowance. II. The privilege of election must be exercised according to the blessed will and law of God. III. Those who have power to appoint officers and magistrates have also power to set the bounds and limitations of the power and place unto which they call them. The reasons are as follows: 1. Because the foundation of authority is laid in the free consent of the people. 2. Because by a free choice the people will be more ready to yield obedience. 3. Because of the duty and engagement of the people.

The lesson taught is threefold. 1. Thankfulness to God for his faithfulness in permitting these measures. 2. Of reproof—to dash the counsels of opposers. 3. Of exhortation—to persuade us, as God hath given us liberty, to *take* it. 4. Lastly, as God hath spared our lives, and given us them in liberty, so to seek the guidance of God, and to choose in God and for God. There is no reference in the sermon to the king of England, no sign of deference to any class, every one exercising his rights "according to the blessed will and law of God," and to hold himself responsible to God alone.

Seven months after Hooker's sermon, the people of the three plantations met in Hartford, on January 14, 1639, and put into form Hooker's teachings for the orderly government of the settlements on the river, "the first example in history of a written constitution, a distinct organic law constituting a government and defining its powers." The three settlements regarded themselves as one people, one sovereignty, and, as all the writers agree, the Fundamental Orders were adopted at a mass-meeting of all the people. It is significant that the framers of this constitution—Hooker with his passion for democracy, Haynes with his liberal spirit, and Ludlow with his profound legal knowledge and insight—arranged that the sovereign rights of the people be given up and vested in the General Court, declaring that since the inhabitants of the three settlements are dwelling together on the Connecticut, and the Bible requires peace and union, therefore,

> we do associate and conjoin ourselves to be one public STATE or COMMONWEALTH; and do, for ourselves and our successors, and such as shall be adjoined to us at any time hereafter, enter into combination and confederation together to maintain and preserve the purity of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus; as also in our civil affairs to be guided and governed according to such laws, rules, orders and decrees, as shall be made, ordered and decreed, as followeth:

first, the state consists of towns, each town regulating, to a certain extent, its own affairs as a pure democracy; *secondly*, elections in the state are annual, all powers going back to the people once in every year; *thirdly*, legislation is by the representatives of towns, acting coördinately with another body of men chosen by the people at large; *fourthly*, the judicial and executive powers are distinguished from the legislative, though committed to men having a share in legislation. Later, a distinction was made between the judiciary and the other branches, but this was not required

in the infancy of the government, when it was natural and safe to identify judiciary and executive. The following are the provisions of the Fundamental Orders of 1639:

1. The right of suffrage was broad. Neither the possession of real estate, nor the payment of a tax, nor the performance of military duty, was placed among the qualifications of a voter. The choice of magistrates was to be "made by all that are admitted freemen, and have taken the oath of fidelity," living within the jurisdiction, "and admitted inhabitants by the major part of the town, or by the major part of such as shall be then present." It was not universal suffrage, but near it.

2. The executive and judicial power was vested in a governor, and at least six assistant magistrates; to be elected on the second Tuesday in April, annually. No person could be elected governor who was not "a member of some approved congregation," or who had not formerly been a magistrate within the jurisdiction, nor could any person be governor oftener than once in two years. The only qualification for the magistracy was that the persons chosen should be "freemen of this commonwealth."

3. Elections were held in a general assembly of all the freemen of the colony. Magistrates were chosen thus: At a preceding General Court, within the year, the names of those who were to stand as candidates for the magistracy at the ensuing election were propounded to the people for consideration. This was done, not by a caucus, or a party convention, but every town had the power of nominating, by its deputies, any two names, and the General Court could add to the nomination at its own discretion. On election day the secretary read the names of all who were to be voted for; after that, every name was voted upon by ballot, a paper with any writing on it being an affirmative vote, and a blank paper negative. Every person was voted for in turn. If at the close, six, in addition to the governor, had not received majorities, six should be made

up by taking the one or more for whom the greatest number of votes had been cast.

4. The legislature consisted of the governor and his assistants in the magistracy, together with the representatives of the towns. Each of the three towns included in the jurisdiction was empowered to send four of its deputies to the General Court; and the towns that should afterwards be added were to send as many deputies as the Court should judge meet in view of the number of freemen in the new towns. Though the deputies did not sit in a different room for the transaction of ordinary business, it was provided that they should meet by themselves before the opening of any General Court, to judge of their elections, and "to advise and consult of all such things as concern the public good."

5. Another feature of this constitution is its implied renunciation of the laws of England, the common law as well as the statute law. The magistrates were empowered "to administer justice according to the laws here established, and for want thereof according to the word of God." This was a prophecy of the Declaration of Independence. It has been easy to ridicule this provision, but, since the colonists had cut loose from the mother-country, with its royal government, prelacy, and liturgy, and had gone beyond the reach of laws which had been trying, the freemen determined that not even common law should burden them without express enactment, and to prevent the necessity of falling back on the common law in cases where no express statute had been enacted, the magistrates were to administer justice according to the principles of equity laid down in a book of universal authority—the Bible.

6. The religious cast of this constitution, its connection with the religious opinions and institutions of those who framed it, appears in the preamble, which asserts that the end of the commonwealth is "to maintain and preserve the liberty and purity of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus which we now profess, as also the discipline of the churches, which,

according to the truth of the Gospel, is now practiced among us." More explicit is the provision, which requires that the governor be "a member of some approved congregation within the jurisdiction." In Massachusetts and New Haven, only church members could have political power, and the breadth and freedom of the "Orders" of Connecticut were due to men like Thomas Hooker, John Haynes, and Roger Ludlow.

It remains to notice the provision by which this primitive constitution would secure its own perpetuity, and keep the supreme power inalienably in the hands of the people. In all ordinary cases, the General Court, of which there were to be two sessions annually, was to be convened by the governor, sending out a summons to the constables of every town, upon which they were to call upon the inhabitants to elect their representatives. The governor was also empowered to convoke a special session of the Court on any emergency, with the consent of a majority of the magistrates. But if, through the neglect or refusal of the governor and magistrates, the General Court should not be convoked, either at the stated time of meeting, or at other times when required by "the occasions of the commonwealth," then the freemen, or a major part of them, might call on the magistracy by petition to perform its duty; and if that petition should be ineffectual, then the freemen, or the major part of them, might give order to the several towns, which order should have the same validity as if it proceeded from the governor. And the Court thus convened, without a governor and without magistrates, should consist of the major part of the freemen present or their deputies, with a moderator chosen by them; and the General Court so constituted should have "the supreme power of the commonwealth," including, among other things, "power to call in question courts, magistrates, or any other person whatsoever, and for just causes to displace them, or deal otherwise according to the nature of the offence." Thus

if magistrates should destroy the government, or interfere with the rights of the freemen, full provision was made for reorganization, whenever the people should choose.

In August or September, 1639, the Court appointed a committee to complete the town organization, and this was finished in October, and a schedule of powers delegated to the towns was adopted at that time, securing to the people of the towns power to sell lands, choose officers, pass local laws, assess, tax, and distrain, hold local courts for minor offenses, to record titles, bonds, sales, and mortgages, and to manage the probate business in the several towns. The relation of the towns to the General Court was clearly declared by the Supreme Court in 1864, when the chief justice announced the judgment of the Court as follows:

> That extraordinary instrument [the constitution of 1639] purports on its face to be the work of the people—the residents and inhabitants of the three towns. It recognizes the towns as existing municipalities, but not as corporate or independent, and makes no reservation expressly or impliedly in their favor.

The towns never failed to recognize the fact that power ran from the commonwealth downward, and there is no instance of their passing the bounds of the Court orders. Toward the end of the seventeenth century, Hartford said, "If the General Court see cause to overrule in this case, we must submit." At first the legislature recommended to the towns, and later it did not hesitate to order.

To the question, "Did the deputies represent the towns as equal entities, or the body of the freemen as a whole?" it must be said that in theory the freemen and inhabitants were separated only by an oath of allegiance, which the electors of magistrates and deputies were required to take, but in practice not one half of the men availed themselves of the privilege. It was ordered that the three original towns should have four deputies each, and that when other towns were formed, they were to have as many deputies as

the Court should judge meet—a reasonable proportion to the number of inhabitants, indicating that the General Court proposed to keep in its own hands the number of deputies, and that the towns were not to have necessarily an equal number. Thus the deputies, who came to form a lower house in 1698, were considered the representatives of the freemen of the colony, and no town except the first three has ever sent more than two, and since the time when the charter was read before the legislature, even the three river towns have had but two deputies.

We come now to a consideration of citizenship in Connecticut towns, and the official system that prevailed. As is well known, the early settlers could not agree to the method which prevailed in Massachusetts of restricting freemanship to church members. It was a radical and far-reaching principle that was stated in the first section of the Orders of 1639, that choice of the governor and magistrates "shall be made by all that are admitted freemen and have taken the oath of Fidelity and do cohabit within this jurisdiction (having been admitted Inhabitants by the major part of the Towne wherein they live or the major parte of such as shall be present)." This laid upon the different towns the power to regulate the admission of citizens.

We are to bear in mind the close union of church and state, that while in theory they were separate in those first sixty years, in practice they were interwoven, though not in the strict way that prevailed in Massachusetts and New Haven. It was the opinion of the colony that "loathesome Heretickes, whether Quakers, Ranters, Adamites or some other like them," had no place in Connecticut, though it was not until 1656, that the General Court, following the recommendations of the commissioners of the United Colonies, passed an order forbidding the towns to entertain such people. But no one became a permanent resident of a town until he was admitted as inhabitant, and transients found scanty hospitality. To say that the suffrage in Connecticut

was universal up to 1657, would be nearly correct, for freemanship was conferred upon all above sixteen in a town and upon others who brought certificates of good behavior from other towns; the oath being administered in both instances. This is the more significant from the fact that in Massachusetts only freemen (chosen by the General Court) could "have any vote in any town in any action of authority or necessity, or that which belongs to them by virtue of their freedom," which means, as we have noticed, that only about one-sixth of the inhabitants there were allowed any voice in the business of a town, though all were taxed.

In 1657, there came a change in the passage of the law, which defined inhabitants who were mentioned in the seventh Fundamental of 1639, as householders that are one and twenty years old, or have borne office or have thirty pounds estate. This was a large sum when ratable estate averaged about sixty pounds for every inhabitant. But why was it that suffrage was restricted in 1657? The colony was losing faith in the people as the first generation passed away, and more questionable immigrants were coming in, and in 1659, it was voted in Hartford that no one was to be admitted as an inhabitant "without it be first consented to by the orderly vote of the inhabitants."

With the narrowing of the elective franchise, the right of voting for colonial officers was taken from a number of inhabitants, though the towns clung to their democratic principles longer than the colony, and paid little attention to the order of the Assembly of 1679, which declared that no one except an admitted inhabitant, a householder, and a man of sober conversation, who had at least fifty shillings freehold estate, could vote for town or county officers or for grants of rates or lands.

The growth of the official system in the towns was after this fashion. We have seen that the first officer was the constable, and the first mention of town officers is January 1, 1638, when Hartford chose four townsmen, and defined

their duties, which were soon widened to cover powers as a court for petty cases (for which a separate body might be chosen), supervision of estates of deceased persons, taking inventories of wills and similar duties. About the same time Hartford, following out the order of the Court, elected two constables, and in December, 1639, gave the townsmen liberty to appoint two men to "attend them in such things as they appoint about the town affairs and be paid at a publique charge." These men were to view the fences about the common fields when requested by the townsmen, and to receive threepence an hour, and fourpence if obliged to spend time repairing. This was to be paid by the owner of the broken palings. They were to survey the common fields, and if any stray cattle or swine were found, they were to do "their best to bring them to the pound," for which they were to receive extra pay for every animal impounded. They were also to "warn people to publick employment or to gather some particular rates or the like," for which they were to receive threepence an hour. We have here the germs of the fence-viewer, hayward or bound-viewer, the public warner, and the rate-collector. Highway surveyors had been appointed just before this, whose duty it was to supervise the roads. In 1640, the town officers of Hartford were two constables, four townsmen or selectmen, two surveyors, and a committee of two to attend to a number of things. Of these the constables and townsmen were elected annually; the surveyors were a committee appointed for an indefinite period, and the two others were chosen as a temporary expedient. As highways were called for more and more, surveyors became regular officers, and in 1643, chimney-viewers were elected, as the town had already established the requirement that every house should have its ladder or tree for use in case of fire. In some of the towns the townsmen had charge of the fences, highways, animals, and rates, but gradually various officers were appointed to meet the increasing needs, and in nearly all cases,

save that of townsmen, town officers were the result of an order of the Court to that effect.

Special officers were needed to regulate the finances. There were at first three rates and afterward a fourth. The first was that paid to the colony; then there was the town rate, and it was paid according to the estate of each inhabitant; there was also the minister's rate, and afterwards there was the school rate. The lister made up the list of the estates, and his associates made up the rate; the collector or bailiff was the officer to whom the inhabitants brought wheat, peas, and Indian corn; the inspector, who was to see that no one's estate was left out of the list, was a short-lived officer. There soon came into existence a large number of other officers, such as packer of meat, brander of horses, sealer of leather, examiner of yarn, sealer of weights and measures, the standards of which were procured from England, public whippers, cattle-herders, sheep-masters, tithing-men, ordinary-keepers, ensign of the train-band, town criers, town warners, and town clerk.

The most important set of officers in the town was the townsmen—the executive board of which appeared on the records of Hartford, January 1, 1639. At a meeting of that board, two weeks before the Constitution was adopted, it was ordered that the townsmen, for the time being, should have the power of the whole to order the common occasions of the town, with certain limitations; they could not receive new inhabitants without vote of the whole; could make no levies on the town except concerning the herding of cattle; could grant no lands save in small parcels to a needy inhabitant; could not alter any highway already settled and laid out; in the calling out of persons and cattle for labor they must guarantee in the name of the whole the safe return of cattle and a reasonable wage for the men, and should not raise wages above sixpence a day. They were required to meet once a fortnight, under penalty of two shillings sixpence for every offense. The number of townsmen differed

in the several towns: in New Haven the number was ten, and later seven; Hartford regularly had four; Wethersfield, in seventy years, had at different times five, four, and three; Windsor had seven and then five. Their business, according to the records, was "to agetat and order the townse occasions for the present year." Since town affairs included church affairs, the townsmen had on their hands the care of the meeting-house, superintending those who were chosen by the town to clapboard, underdaub, sweep, and dress it, and also the construction of porch, seats, and pulpit. Through the townsmen the expenses of the town were met, such as paying the herders, watch, drum-beaters, building and repair of bridges, setting the town mill, surveying lands, repairing the minister's house, payment of minister's salary, occasionally supporting poor persons, repair of town property, as ferry, town stocks, payment of bounties for wolves and blackbirds, payment of town officers, and such extra expenses as "liquor for boundgoers." There was no law that required the townsmen to make an annual statement of receipts and expenditures, and they sometimes failed to square accounts and hand over the surplus to their successors.

The townsmen gradually changed into the selectmen. This name does not appear in Hartford and Windsor until 1691, and for twenty-five years after that there was a commingling of the terms. The title *selectmen* might be used in recording the election, but the old name of *townsmen* was often used in the further accounts. After 1725, *selectmen* was the generally accepted term.

The constable was the right arm of the law, and a very important officer, and since the river towns were of a military character, the earliest act of the provisional government was directed against a laxity of military discipline, and the next forbade the sale of arms, powder and shot to the Indians, following which is the appointment of constables as military officers. Then the constable was to patrol a town to guard

against Indian attacks, and also to view the ammunition, which every inhabitant was ordered to have in readiness; soon also every town was to be put into military condition by monthly trainings under the constable, with more frequent meetings for the "unskilful." The constable was to examine the arms to see "whether they be serviceable or noe," a duty which was afterward given to the clerk of the train-band. After the war was over the inhabitants were ordered to carry to the constable "any armor, swords, belts, Bandilers, kittles, pottes, tooles, or anything else that belongs to the commonwealth," and he was to return them to the next Court.

After Captain John Mason was appointed general training officer, the constable became a purely civil officer with many police duties. The town meetings were held at first monthly, but later they were held less frequently in the summer, and the autumn and winter meetings were of the greatest importance, for then the officers were elected, rates proclaimed, and laws read. The town meeting was usually called together by the beating of the drum or blowing of the trumpet from the top of the meeting-house, as is suggested by a Windsor record, "determined that provision should be made from the top of the meeting-house, from the Lanthorn to the ridge of the house, to walk conveniently to sound a trumpet or drum to give warning to the meetings." There were also warners in Wethersfield who went from house to house, to give notice to the inhabitants. The time of meeting was nine in the morning, and at first fines were imposed for absence. Officers were generally chosen by ballot, though at times, for "dispatch of business," show of hands was employed.

The government formed in 1639, was steady in its working; at the first election on April 11, 1639, John Haynes was chosen governor; in a period of twenty years, Haynes was governor eight times and Edward Hopkins seven times. In 1657, John Winthrop, Jr., was chosen governor, and he

AN HOLY CONNEXION,

Or a true AGREEMENT

Between Jehovahs being a WALL of FIRE to his People, and the GLORY in the midst thereof:

Or a Word in Seaſon to ſtir up to a ſolemn Acknowledgement of the gracious Protection of God over his People; and eſpecially to a Holy Care that the Preſence of God may yet be continued with us.

As it was delivered in a

SERMON

Preached at *Hartford* on *Conecticut* in *N. E.* May 14. 1674. being the Day of ELECTION there:

By JAMES FITCH Paſtor of the Church of Chriſt in *Norwich*.

Exod. 33. 15, 16. And he ſaid unto him, If thy preſence go not with me, carry us not up hence. For wherein ſhall it be known here that I and thy People have found Grace in thy ſight, is it not in that thou go'ſt with us.

1 King 8. 57, 58. The Lord our God be with us as he was with our Fathers, let him not leave us nor forſake us, that he may incline our hearts unto him to walk in all his ways, &c.

Neh. 9. 19. Yet thou in thy manifold mercies forſookſt them not in the Wilderneſs, the Pillar of the Cloud departed not from them by day to lead them in the way, neither the Pillar of Fire by night to ſhew them light, and the way wherein they ſhould go.

Iſai. 4. 5. And the Lord will create upon every dwelling place of Mount Sion, and upon her Aſſemblies a Cloud and Smoke by day, and the ſhining of a flaming fire by night, for upon all the Glory ſhall be a defence.

CAMBRIDGE:
Printed by *Samuel Green*. 1674.

The Title-Page of the First Election Sermon Preached in Connecticut

This sermon was the first of the famous series of election sermons delivered to the General Assembly at the opening of the annual session. A copy is in the possession of the Connecticut State Library

held office for eighteen years. Early in the next century, Gurdon Saltonstall was governor for seventeen years.

The ecclesiastical excresence on the constitution, natural at the time, though contrary to the spirit of the document, remained to trouble the commonwealth until the political system came up to its own standard in 1818. The wisdom of Hooker is seen nowhere else more clearly than in the third proposition of the sermon that "they who have the power to appoint officers and magistrates, it is in their power also to set the bounds and limitations of the power and place unto which they call them." The government was a creation of the people, and governor, legislature, and judges were to have a *limited* power, and that limiting element afterwards developed into the Supreme Court. This feature of Hooker's sermon is probably the most important development of our political system. There had been democracies before, but the supremacy of the law, coming directly from the people, limiting the government created by the people, is original here, and is a principle which found expression in the Constitution of the United States, a fact which has led many admirers of the Connecticut system to declare that the former can be traced to the constitution of 1639. This is an alluring view, which is not now accepted by those who have examined the subject, though, no doubt, the Connecticut government had a decided influence at the convention of 1787, because of the presence there of Sherman, Ellsworth, and Johnson.

The fact that there was no sovereignty of the towns before 1639, enhances the glory of Connecticut as the birthplace of American democracy, and it is enough honor for this commonwealth to have been the first organized government to draft for itself an organic law, and first to build that law on the theory that the sovereignty of a state is in the people of the state.

It is not a gracious task to criticize so great an instrument as the famous "Constitution" of the colony, but the

open suffrage provision was found in practice to be too *doctrinaire*, and had to be changed in twenty years; the throwing off of all connection with English law made New England inferior to the South in the production of able lawyers, and the equality of representation in the towns has left a legacy which has retarded progress, and permits the injustice of a town of a hundred voters having as many representatives in the legislature as a city of a hundred thousand souls. Then, too, the refusal of the founders to grant larger power to the governor has led to an excessive development of the legislative factor, which in the judgment of many has proved a detriment to colony and state.

The question now arises as to the authorship of this remarkable document. An easy answer is the common one —Thomas Hooker—and we are not to lessen the glory of that great mind, but there was one other man, and only one, who had the training and the ability to fashion the Fundamental Orders, and that was Roger Ludlow of Windsor. Ludlow came of a distinguished, liberty-loving family, a family of soldiers, lawyers, and statesmen. From 1547, to 1660, six Ludlows studied law in the Inner Temple, and Roger Ludlow, after two years at Balliol College, Oxford, became a student at the Inner Temple in 1612, and for the next period, until at forty he sailed for Massachusetts, he was engaged in legal training and research; mastering principles and precedents; becoming an expert in handling constitutional forms, thus commending himself to his critical associates as the one man to whom they could look to grasp and form the laws of the new state; to serve as magistrate and jurist, and to put into final shape the colonial statutes. Ludlow married Mary Endicott, a sister of the Massachusetts governor. He sailed in the spring of 1630, in the first ship of the fleet, and landing in May at Nantasket, he went to Dorchester with a group known as the Dorchester Company,—"a godly and religious people, many of them persons of note and figure, being dignified

with ye title of master, which but few in those days were." When, in 1630, the famous charter of Massachusetts Bay was secured from King Charles, Ludlow was chosen an assistant by the stockholders in London, "that his counsel and judgment might aid in preserving order, and founding the social structure upon the surest basis." Among his associates were the Earl of Warwick, Lord Say and Sele, Winthrop, Vane, Mason, Underhill, and Wareham. To be chosen assistant in association with such men marks Ludlow as a man of superior ability and knowledge. His service in Massachusetts for five years as magistrate in the Great Charter Court and as deputy governor, brought him opportunity for many important duties and to meet questions of the gravest concern, to which he brought all the resources of his powerful mind.

Remembering the situation at Boston Bay, the disposition of Winthrop, Cotton, and the other leaders to keep the reins of government in the hands of the few, it is significant that when the struggle began between magistrates and commons, Ludlow, an assistant, stood with his associates, but when the freemen demanded a sight of the charter, and appointed deputies to advise the magistrates, Ludlow took his place with the people, and in 1634, was elected deputy governor, from which office he graduated to cast in his fortunes with the settlers on the Connecticut. We need not repeat the story of diplomacy and force by which the Dutch were ousted, the Pilgrims checkmated, and the younger Winthrop led to abandon his claim to the upper Connecticut. We have seen that Ludlow was at the head of the Massachusetts commission to govern the colony for a year, was practically the first governor; when the Court assembled at the opening of the second year, May 1, 1637, Ludlow presided, and "offensive warr" against the Pequots was voted. He was in charge of the defenses about Windsor while the soldiers were absent; he was in the army at the Swamp Fight, and when the Fundamental Orders were

adopted at Hartford January 14, 1639, who was the man who put into form that immortal instrument? Ludlow was a lawyer—the only one in the colony; he was trained in the best English schools; had served on the government of Massachusetts for four years; had drawn the main acts of the colonial government, and while Haynes, Wyllys, Webster, Mason, Goodwin, and Steele had part in the deliberations, we cannot refrain from the belief that Ludlow was the leading mind in framing the Fundamental Orders. This cannot be proven, for there is no record of the meetings, but it is a natural inference from the facts cited above, and from the fact that in 1646, it was ordered by the General Court that

> Mr. Ludlowe is requested to take some paynes in drawing forth a body of Lawes for the government of this Commonwelth, and p^r^sent the same to the next Generall Court; and if he can provide a man for his occasions while he is imployed in the said searvice, he shall be paid at the country chardge.

While the three plantations on the Connecticut were forming their government, New Haven, Milford, and Guilford were laying their civic foundations with sermons and prayers. On reaching New Haven in 1638, the settlers first bound themselves by a "plantation covenant," similar to that of the Plymouth Pilgrims, making a temporary government, and thirteen months later, in the barn of Robert Newman, the civil and ecclesiastical foundations of New Haven were laid. In 1643, the neighboring colonies of Milford and Guilford were admitted into the jurisdiction of the New Haven colony, and at that time a written constitution, consisting of certain "fundamental orders," appears upon the record. This differed from the constitution of Connecticut in that it insisted that none but church members could vote; the number disfranchised in New Haven was probably a majority; in Guilford nearly a half. It also guarded carefully the independence of the churches, and

established various courts whose powers were carefully prescribed. At New Haven as at Hartford, the settlers felt that they were not founding colonies but states. During many of the earliest years, the records of New Haven contain no recognition of the English king. This was natural, for the twelve years from 1628, to 1640, were a period when the prospects of liberty in England, under Laud and Strafford, were at the darkest; when freedom existed only in a memory or a hope. During those years, when the realm was governed, not by Acts of Parliament, but by Orders in Council, twenty thousand Puritans emigrated to New England; and it is not strange that a knowledge of the condition in England should have colored the constitutions forming here.

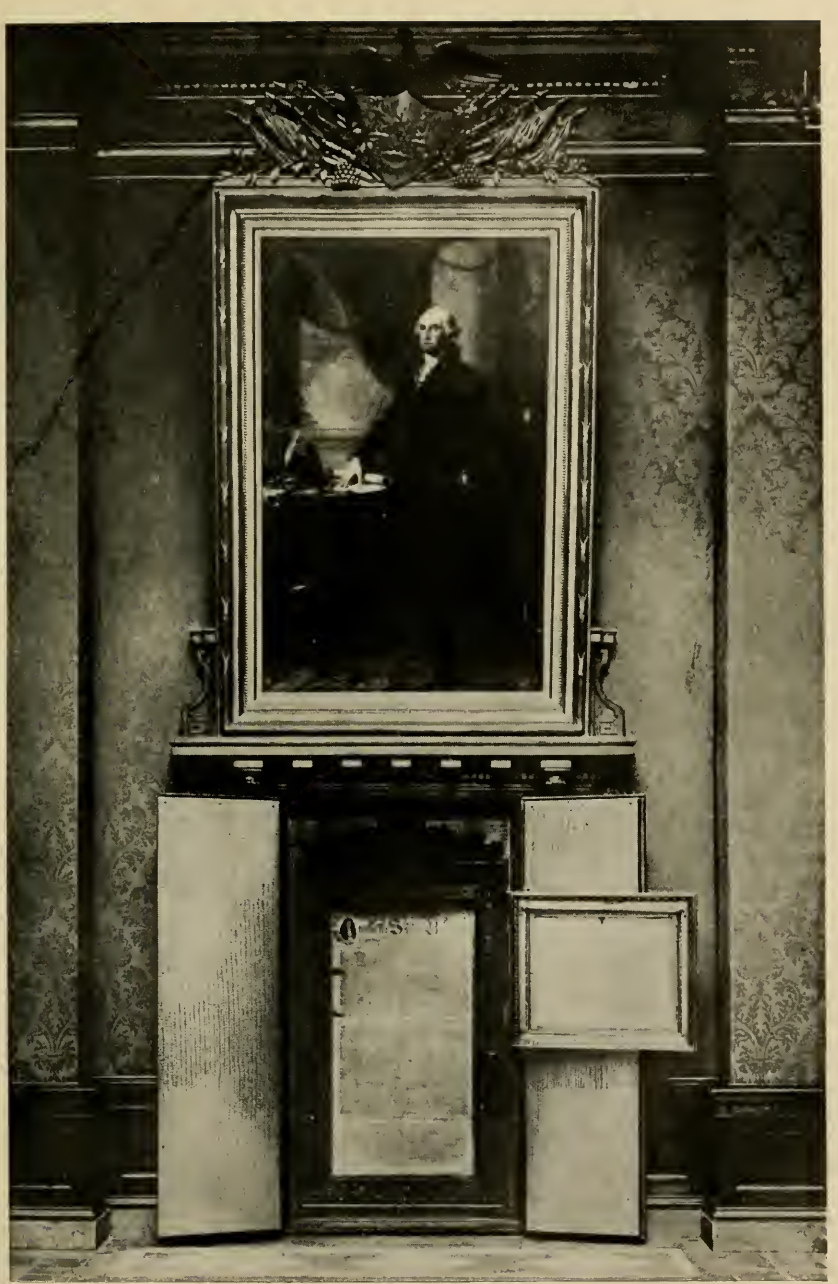
On March 14, 1661, the General Court of Connecticut voted to acknowledge allegiance to Charles II., with request for a charter, and in August, John Winthrop, Jr., sailed in quest of the boon. He was to ask for the renewal of the patent, or for a charter. There was a happy combination of influences working for the good of the colony; Lord Say and Sele was interested in Winthrop and in the community he represented, and the scientific tastes and scholarly bearing of Winthrop commended him to the English government, so that it came to pass that a charter was obtained more democratic than was ever given by another king, by which was constituted the Governor and Company of the English Colony of Connecticut in New England in America. The boundaries of the territory were: on the east,

> the Narragansett River, commonly called Narragansett Bay, where the said river falleth into the sea; on the north, the line of the Massachusetts Plantation; on the south, the sea; and, in longitude, as the line of the Massachusetts Colony runneth from east to the west, that is to say, from the said Narragansett Bay on the east, to the South Sea on the west part, with the islands thereto adjoining.

These boundaries included the whole of New Haven colony, as well as the territory of Rhode Island.

The government was to be administered by a governor, a deputy governor, twelve assistants, and a house of deputies, which was to consist of two members from each town, to be elected annually by the freemen of the colony. The only limiting clause was that the local legislature could not make laws contrary to those of the realm of England, but this had little weight, for there was a method in the English government of annulling laws passed by colonial legislatures. It was an extraordinary document to be issued while Lord Clarendon was minister, and one reason for its quality may have been the desire to punish New Haven for harboring the regicides. The king issued a sign manual bearing "Charles R," February 28, 1662, and the charter passed the great seal, as is indicated by the chancellor's "recipe," April 23. The arrival of the charter in New England four months later, created a decided sensation. Great was the joy; it was read in Hartford, October 9, committed to Wyllys, Talcott, and Allen; the General Court declaring in force all the laws and orders of the colony, making a declaration of the same to all civil and military officers. Westchester, lying within Dutch territory, received notice of the claims of Connecticut, and the dwellers at Mystic and Stonington were notified that they were within Connecticut. Border towns that had been allied with New Haven waited on the legislature of Connecticut and asked admission to its citizenship. A committee of two magistrates and two ministers was appointed to go to New Haven, to say they hoped that a happy union might be formed, and the reply was that the New Haven colony preferred to hear the particulars from the lips of Winthrop. Meanwhile meetings of the freemen were held, and protests made against the union which was thrust upon them, and votes were taken in the towns to defer action until Winthrop's home-coming.

Connecticut made no response to the remonstrance of



The Charter of 1662

This is from a photograph of the charter issued to the colony in 1662, by Charles II. For a short time it was secreted in the famous Charter Oak. At the right is the Constitution of 1818. Above is Stuart's Washington. The group is in the south end of Memorial Hall, Connecticut State Library

New Haven until some four months later, when it sent a committee of four magistrates to New Haven to settle the matter of union and incorporation. They were instructed to consent to no concessions and to make no compromises. New Haven, at a meeting of its General Court, resolved to recognize no changes of the government, and to go on as usual. In the face of the advice of Winthrop in the communication he sent to Deputy Governor Mason of Connecticut, that colony proceeded to appoint magistrates for the New Haven towns, and invited from those towns deputies to the Connecticut legislature. Since New Haven declined to treat with Connecticut, that colony addressed the several towns of New Haven. At the meeting of the federal commissioners in Boston in 1663, the question of union was the most important matter of consideration. New Haven presented its grievance over the usurpation of Connecticut, and the representatives of Massachusetts and Plymouth gave it as their opinion that

> the colony of New Haven might not by any act of violence, have their liberty of jurisdiction infringed by any other of the United Colonies without breach of the Articles of Confederation and that, wherein the act of power had been exerted against their authority, the same ought to be recalled, and their power reserved to them entire, until such time as in an orderly way it should be otherwise disposed.

Meanwhile the New Haven alliance tended to disintegrate; the plantation convenant excluded forty per cent. of the population from citizenship, and this element was friendly to a change. It was not easy for the New Haven confederacy to pay the expenses of the government after all but three towns seceded, but the order received from England at that time, requiring the observance of the navigation laws, was addressed to the governor and assistants of New Haven, and that was considered by the authorities as a virtual recognition of their separate capacity, and they made it the basis of a claim for taxes on the seceding towns.

To bring the intolerable situation to a close, the General Court of New Haven prepared a paper to transmit to the Connecticut authorities, entitled *New Haven's Case Stated*, wherein the full history was set forth, and the Connecticut authorities were requested no longer to force a union. To this plea Connecticut made no reply, and the contest continued until the summer of 1664. The leading men of Massachusetts advised New Haven to yield, saying that the *Case Stated* justified its position and it could yield with dignity, and this advice was followed after a few concessions had been made. The movement toward union was not retarded by the fact that Charles II. granted to his brother, the Duke of York, March 12, 1664, New Netherlands and all Long Island "and the land from the west side of Connecticut to the East side of Delaware Bay." Royal authority had disposed of New Haven without her knowledge. Between the two powerful claimants, Connecticut and the Duke of York, there was no hesitation about the decision. It was better to be connected with a people of their own faith than become the property of a prince of the House of Stuart. When Colonel Richard Nicolls came with three ships of war and troops to secure possession from the Dutch, the charter of Winthrop was a welcome resource. Winthrop preferred to yield Long Island rather than the west, and the boundary on the west was declared to be "the creek or river called Mamoronock, which is reputed to be about twelve miles to the east of Westchester, and a line drawn from the east part or side, where the fresh water falls into the salt at high water mark, northwest to the line of Massachusetts." Thus Connecticut kept substantially all she had formerly claimed on the mainland in return for the loss of Long Island. By that time New Haven saw that union could no longer be delayed, and on December 13, 1664, she held her last General Court and adopted resolutions dissolving the colony. Davenport was bitterly disappointed, and said the independence of his colony was "miserably lost."

CHAPTER VII

COURTS AND LAWS

AT first the legislative and judicial powers of the colony were vested in the General Court, whose authority came, as we have seen in the previous chapter, from the Massachusetts legislature. In accordance with the commission from Boston, a "Corte" was organized, consisting of magistrates from Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield on April 26, 1636, at Hartford, and the following men were present: Roger Ludlow, John Steele, William Swain, William Phelps, William Westwood, and William Ward, and this Court had power to make and repeal laws, grant levies, admit freemen, dispose of unappropriated lands, and discipline any one, even a court magistrate. There was no check upon its power, except the provision that its acts must not be contrary to the laws of England, and within such lines it had absolute power over life, liberty, and property. As we have seen, it gave little thought to the common law of England, but Roger Ludlow was there, a man thoroughly trained in English precedents and the methods of the courts of the mother country, and he was probably the most powerful influence in those early meetings of the magistrates; if not, he would know the reason why, for Ludlow had a temper as well as brains and scholarship, and he was practically the first governor. This Court made a very modest beginning at its first meeting, and did little but elect constables and forbid "trade with the natives or Indians any peece, or

pistoll, or gunn, or powder, or shott." It was ordered that any stray swine should be confined two weeks, and if they were then unclaimed, they should be sold. This suggests the policy of the settlers in their court procedure: to make their laws to fit the cases as they arose, meet all occasions with common sense and practical measures, and let their jurisprudence evolve with the growth of society. At New Haven it was somewhat different, for the Old Testament laws had a stronger hold there, and of course there was a large supply of common sense on the Sound as well as on the Connecticut. In both colonies it was the policy to face the intricate often vexing questions of the new government, and to undertake the laborious duties of society with calm deliberation and good judgment.

The second session of this Court was held in Windsor, and the third in Wethersfield, and as we shall see, this plain gathering of straightforward magistrates became in 1639, the General Court, the heart of authority in the commonwealth, and the mother of all the other courts that came into existence as occasion required. Since the "Corte" for which the mother colony so thoughtfully arranged was the only legal authority there was the first year, it fined a citizen for cursing, and ordered that no one should "drink" any but home-raised tobacco; it also passed regulations concerning courting, but by degrees it divested itself of a part of its judicial power by constituting local tribunals for settling of estates and to try cases whether of witchcraft, theft, sailing a boat on Sunday, or murder. The election of deputies after the adoption of the Fundamental Orders in 1639, was the beginning of the two houses of the legislature, the germ of which is found in the committees from the towns which had met previously with the magistrates. In 1645, a step was taken toward the ultimate division into Senate and House by the provision that no act of the General Court should become a law, without the concurrence of the magistrates and deputies. When Connecticut and New

Haven were united in 1664, the *General Court* became the *General Assembly*, and in 1698, the distinction between the governor and council as one house and the deputies as the other was made distinct.

In accordance with the only sensible course, there was a division of labors as early as 1638, a year before the adoption of the Orders, when the General Court organized a Particular Court to meet in Hartford on the first Tuesday in May for the trial of two persons charged with misdemeanors. This Court was doubtless made up of magistrates, and it became a tribunal less formal than the General Court, meeting more frequently for the trial of cases. It had no stated time for its sessions and was held once in Wethersfield, once in New London, and the rest of the time in Hartford. It was probably held in the meeting-house or the house of a magistrate at first, and as the years passed court-houses became necessary. The methods were simplicity itself, as lawyers were rare; rules of evidence hardly thought of; magistrates conducted the examination of witnesses; arguments were infrequent; judgment was based on conscience rather than on legal precedent. The Fundamental Orders make no reference to it, but it continued to hold sessions at irregular times until May, 1642, when it was enacted that it should meet only once in three months, and should be known thereafter as the Quarter Court. The times of meeting were the first Thursdays in March, June, September, and December. When held at other times, it was called the Particular Court.

The earliest record of the definite formation of a court is in May, 1647, when the General Court enacted that it should consist of the governor, deputy governor, and two magistrates: and in the absence of the executive officers, three magistrates should hold court. Its jurisdiction extended to all minor disputes and it was purely judicial in its construction, though its functions included both civil and criminal cases. While it was a court of appeal from

inferior tribunals, its decisions could be appealed to the General Court. In civil cases, where the amounts involved exceeded forty shillings, the trial, at the discretion of the magistrates, could be submitted to a jury of six or twelve, and two thirds of their number could render a legal verdict. If, in the opinion of the magistrates, the verdict was not in accordance with the testimony, they could empower the jury to reconsider its decision, or impanel another, if the jury had not "attended to the evidence." In suits for damages, if the magistrates deemed the sum allowed exorbitant or inadequate, they had power to alter it, if done in open court. In July, 1643, provision was made for a grand jury of twelve or fourteen able men to present breaches of laws or misdemeanors. As the magistrates received only fees for their services, a statute was passed to oblige persons to pay the costs of prosecution before leaving court, or suffer imprisonment. The inferior judicial bodies were limited to the township, and were called town courts, consisting of three, five, or six men, who were called *principal men*, or *town's men*, afterwards *selectmen*, who were elected annually, and one of their number was chosen moderator, whose presence was required to form a quorum. Their judicial powers were confined to claims of debt and trespass, where the amount involved was less than forty shillings, and before the execution was issued the case could be appealed. Sessions of the town court were held once in two months. Thus we see that up to the time of the charter there were three courts, General, Particular, and Town—tribunals to decide cases according to "conscience and righteousness."

After the charter there were changes as settlements multiplied, and counties were formed, with courts according to the new divisions. In 1665, the colony was divided into four counties—Hartford, New Haven, New London, and Fairfield. The old Particular or Quarter Court gave way to the Court of Assistants, so called because it was composed

of a majority of the assistants, the successors of the magistrates of the old General Court, and this was constituted in October, 1665, with jurisdiction over crimes relating to life, limb, banishment, and appellate, also questions of divorce and admiralty. It was held semi-annually, one week before the General Assembly. When the counties were organized, a County Court was established in each, of three assistants and two commissioners, afterwards called *justices of the peace*. In 1698, it was voted that in each county, four of the most able and judicious freemen should be justices, three of whom, with a judge appointed by the General Assembly, should have power to hold a County Court. In October, 1698, it was voted that three justices could hold court. From that time until 1821, the formation of County Courts was unchanged with one judge and from two to five justices of the peace, all commissioned by the General Assembly. From 1821, to 1839, there were three judges. In 1839, a *county commissioner* was added; in 1853, the County Courts were abandoned, to give way to one judge and two or three commissioners. The jurisdiction of the County Court was at first substantially the same as that of the Particular Court. It had power in settling property, and probating wills, and also over prerogative powers that were transferred to it. It could try all cases, "real, personal or mixt," and all criminal cases, "not extending to life, limb, banishment, adultery or divorce." In 1798, it was prohibited from trying cases whose punishment extended to confinement in Newgate, except horse-stealing.

In 1669, the Town Courts were reorganized, to consist of an assistant or commissioner and two selectmen, and appeals could be taken to the County Court, thence to the Court of Assistants, then to General Assembly. In 1711, the Court of Assistants was superseded by the Superior Court, with powers of the older tribunal transferred to it, namely, punishment of offenders, civil causes, appeals, and writs of error. It held sessions in each of the counties, having a

chief judge and four others,—the governor as chief judge and the rest from the council. The power of the Superior Court gradually increased; in 1762, authority was given to it to grant new trials on discovery of new evidence and afford equitable relief up to one hundred pounds; later to four hundred pounds and in 1778, to eight hundred pounds, while cases relating to sums under one hundred pounds went to the County Courts. In 1784, it was enacted that the lieutenant-governor and council should be a Supreme Court of Errors, to which questions of law and equity from the Superior Court should be referred,—to meet annually, alternating between Hartford and New Haven, and in 1795, the governor was added. The docket became so crowded with the increase of the population that in 1806, the Supreme Court of Errors ceased, and judges of the Superior Court assumed the duties of the court of last resort, and the number was raised to one chief judge and eight assistants, meeting annually in alternate years in Hartford and New Haven. In 1819, this court consisted of one chief judge and four associates. In 1855, the Supreme Court was changed to consist of a chief and two associates. In 1859, the associates judges were increased to three, and in 1865, to four. From the foundation of the Superior Court in 1711, the appointment of the judges was by the General Assembly year by year, and with the adoption of the constitution in 1818, it was ordered that they serve during good behavior until seventy years old; in 1880, it was voted that the governor nominate the judges. Owing to the accumulation of cases in the Superior Court, the Assembly in 1869, established a Court of Common Pleas in Hartford and New Haven; New London and Fairfield in 1872; Litchfield in 1881, with jurisdiction in legal and equitable relief in sums from one hundred to five hundred dollars, and later five hundred to one thousand dollars, with the concurrence of the Superior Court.

The growth of the Probate Courts has been as follows:

Ludlow's code made provision for the settlement of the estates of deceased persons under the title of *records*. By the statute of October 10, 1639, on the death of a person possessed of an estate, leaving a will in writing, or by word of mouth, those men who were "appointed to order the affairs of the town where any such person deceaseth" were to make and report a true inventory of the estate, and record the will and names of children and legatees within three months. The court intended was the Particular Court, which exercised probate duties until abandoned. Sometimes there were three witnesses, sometimes two, sometimes none. In case a person died intestate, the town officers distributed the property to the family, or "for the good of the common." After the abandonment of the Particular Courts, the probate powers went to the County Courts, and in 1698, these powers were lodged with the respective judges with two justices, and there began the separate Probate Court, in that one less judge was needed than for the County Court. In 1702, the duty of making an inventory was taken from the selectmen and given the executors or administrators. In 1716, it was enacted that Courts of Probate be established in the several counties, with one judge and a clerk. The first probate districts were coextensive with the four original counties; the first change to a district less than a county was made in 1719. There were one hundred and twelve Probate Courts in 1913.

The office of justice of the peace began in 1669, when an act was passed to empower an assistant or commissioner, with the selectmen, to hear and determine cases at which less than forty shillings was at stake, with right to appeal to the County Court. Various changes in the powers of these officers were made from time to time, and it was not till 1848, that a justice of the peace could sentence a criminal to imprisonment, and never over thirty days. Appeals could be taken to the higher courts for everything, except convictions for profanity or Sabbath-breaking. The right of trial

by jury (though declared by the Constitution inviolate) does not exist in justice suits, and is only exercised by special statutes; when permitted, six persons are selected from the jury list of the town.

As we have seen, the oldest office in Connecticut is the constable, originally the military center, and afterwards the conspicuous and authoritative peace officer of the colony, to put forth hue and cry after murderers, thieves, and robbers; to arrest Sabbath-breakers and vagrants without warrant; to keep the oversight of taverns and lock up loiterers. He could call on any citizen to aid him, under penalty of ten shillings, and, if obstinate, forty shillings. He summoned town meetings, enforced the collection of taxes, and helped the tithing-men guard the Sabbath. In 1715, the General Assembly ordered that "constables and grand jury men shall on the evenings after the Lord's day, and after public days of religious solemnity, walk the street, and duly search all the places suspected of harboring and entertaining any persons assembled contrary to law." These three officers, tithing-men, constables, and grand jurors, met in January and June to "advise, consider and use their joint interest in suppressing profaneness, vice and immorality." These officers received two shillings a day for their services as police, and their pay came from fines upon offenders. Only one was paid for one arrest. The symbol of office was a black staff, furnished by the selectmen. There were no sheriffs until 1702, though the office had existed from earliest times under the name of marshal, and the code of 1650, assumes it. The marshal was a civil officer, appointed by the General Court to preserve order. After the union of Connecticut and New Haven, there was a marshal in every county, appointed by the County Courts. In 1702, the sheriff superseded the marshal, and in 1722, his duties were defined: to conserve peace, suppress riots and tumults and summon militia. In 1724, his powers were still further enlarged, and he could summon any one to assist him.

Deputy sheriffs were appointed from time to time in the eighteenth century, and in 1766, several deputy sheriffs were appointed in every county by the sheriffs. In 1724, the sheriff was appointed to have charge of the jail, with the right to appoint keepers.

The code of 1650, contains an act, which first appeared in 1643, by which it was ordered that a grand jury of twelve or fourteen men was warned to appear at every court yearly, in September, or as the governor or court found necessary to present breaches of laws. When County Courts were established, this provision was made applicable to them, and twelve grand jurymen were to meet in each of the four counties. In 1680, it was ordered that they should serve for a year. By 1702, clerks of the several County Courts were directed to summon one or more men from every town to serve as grand jurors, to report once a month all misdemeanors to the next assistant or justice of the peace. These men became informing officers, with power to make complaints individually. They were liable to a penalty of forty shillings if they failed to take office when summoned. In 1712, it was voted that two or more grand jurors be appointed at town meetings, and their names reported to the clerk of the County Court. The Superior Court summoned its own grand jury of eighteen. In capital cases it was necessary that indictment should be made by a jury of eighteen, in which twelve must agree. The constitution of 1818, declared that "no person shall be holden to answer for any crime, the punishment of which is death or imprisonment for life, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury."

This sketch of the development of the courts and various offices as occasion arose needs to be supplemented by an account of the growth of common and statute law. After the adoption of the constitution in 1639, the General Court built on that foundation numerous enactments needed to perfect the civil organization of the new colony. In October,

1639, Wyllys, Webster, and Spencer were appointed a committee to "review all former orders and lawes, and record such of them as they conceave to be for publique concernment; and deliver them into the secretaryes hands to be published to the several townes; and all other orders that they see cause to omit, to be suspended until the Court take further order." There was one manuscript statute book for every town, in which the new laws were copied after every session. For more than a generation, the laws were conveyed to the towns by word of mouth, and once a year the constable read the laws to the assembled freemen. New Haven taught the advantage of circulation of the statutes, which were printed in 1673, and after January, 1674, every household was required to have a copy. The first time that the incorporation of towns was recognized was in Ludlow's code, which regarded them as component parts of the body politic, but there was no special title given to the subject. In the code of 1672, their duties and powers were gathered and established. On them was laid the burden of supporting the poor, making and repairing roads and bridges, and, by taking impost, the responsibility for military defense.

The criminal code was taken with few exceptions from that of Massachusetts, which was based on the English law. The code of laws was put into shape, as has been said, by Roger Ludlow, who was requested to "take some paynes in drawing forth a body of Lawes," by the General Court of April 9, 1646, a work which he completed in four years, taking fourteen articles from the Body of Liberties of Massachusetts, adopted in 1641; but sixty-three of the articles were new and distinct, and the seventy-seven articles from the hand of Ludlow were adopted by the General Court in May, 1650, and the only recognition of his great service is certified by a minute in the records of February 5, 1681: "This Court grants and orders that the secretary shall be allowed and paid the sum of six pounds, being in p't pay-

ment of his great paines in drawing out and transcribing the country orders, concluded and established in May last." There is no record of a compensation to Ludlow, other than the statement that "it is the mynd of the Court that he be considered for his paynes." Ludlow's code covers fifty pages of the Colonial Records, and his classification was retained until 1854, when fifty-eight of his titles, somewhat modified, were still used. Ludlow was a man of iron will and unyielding integrity, but his tongue was apt to express a sharp temper, which sometimes "grew into a passion," and after his great work of codifying the laws ended, he left Connecticut. In 1654, he carried out a plan he had defined at Boston twenty-two years before, and went back to the mother-country, settling in Dublin, where he served on the first Irish commission under Cromwell, and afterwards was made a Master in Chancery.

A new era began with the union of Connecticut and New Haven, and the revised code went into effect in January, 1664, with suffrage limited, punishments still tainted by medievalism, religious freedom unknown, land held by tenures, which were free from the dangers of forfeiture, since no property reverted to the colony. The subject of education was prominent in legislation by 1672, and many of the regulations then passed remained in force for two hundred years. Divorce became a fruitful cause for legislation, and four divorces were allowed in 1653. The grounds for divorce given in 1677, at a time when no divorces were granted in any other Christian country, were adultery, fraudulent contract, willful neglect of duty, and seven years' providential absence, without being heard from.

In the preface to the revision of 1672, it was declared that it was not the purpose of the planters "to impugn the state laws of England so far as we understand them," and while the legislature was independent, not taking the trouble to ask what was the law of England, the common law of the mother-country slowly and insidiously grew into

the decisions of the colony as the lawyers and judges here became better educated, and it came to pass that Connecticut common law rested on English common law in recognition of its wisdom and propriety. The declaration of the Fundamental Orders of 1639, that the General Court should embody the supreme power of the commonwealth, and the bill of rights in the code of 1650, by which no person should be damaged in life, liberty, and property, "unless it be by virtue or equity of some express law of the county warranting the same, established by the General Court and sufficiently published, or in the case of the defect of a law in any particular case by the word of God," were a practical repudiation of the common law. It was the intention of the settlers to base the government on a code and in harmony with revealed religion. There was a radical departure from English methods, in equipping the government with an executive head without power, and a strong legislature, in combining law-making and law-interpreting, in the recognition of equality among men, and in refusing to admit classes, titles, and aristocracy, though there was quite enough of caste in many communities.

Primogeniture rested on the Mosaic code, and was adopted in England as a military necessity in rude times, but it was never adopted in Connecticut, not even in the code of 1650, which permitted all persons of twenty-one years to make such wills and alienation of land as they chose. The law of 1672, provided that property of persons dying intestate should be divided among wife and children according to equity. In 1699, a law was passed in Connecticut providing that there should be an equal distribution of the whole estate, except a double share to the eldest son. This act was annulled in 1727, because contrary to the law of England, but the colony never paid any attention to the annulment.

In May, 1776, there was passed what has been called "the most important statute in Connecticut history." It was then enacted that the

A

GENERAL HISTORY
OF CONNECTICUT,

FROM ITS

First Settlement under GEORGE FENWICK, Esq.

TO ITS

Latest Period of Amity with GREAT BRITAIN;

INCLUDING

A DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY,

And many curious and interesting ANECDOTES.

To which is added,

An APPENDIX, wherein new and the true Sources of the present Rebellion in America are pointed out; together with the particular Part taken by the People of Connecticut in its Promotion.

By a GENTLEMAN of the PROVINCE.
(Samuel A. Peters)

Plus apud me ratio valebit, quam vulgi opinio.
CIC. Parad. 1.

LONDON:
Printed for the AUTHOR;
And sold by J. BEW, No. 28, Pater-Noster-Row,
MDCCLXXXI.

Facsimile of the Title-page of Peter's History

This history of Connecticut by the loyalist Rev. Samuel A. Peters gave occasion to the Connecticut "Blue Law" tradition. A copy of the first edition, printed in London, 1781, is in the Connecticut State Library

form of Civil Government in this State shall continue to be established by charter received from Charles II., King of England, so far as an adherence to the same will be consistent with the absolute independence of this State on the Crown of Great Britain, and that all officers civil and military heretofore appointed by the State, continue in the execution of their several offices, and the laws of this State shall continue in force until otherwise ordered; and that for the future all writs and processes of law and equity shall issue in the name of the governor and company of the State of Connecticut, and that in all summonses, attachments and other processes before any Assistants or Justices of the Peace, "one of His majesty's Justices of the Peace" be omitted, and that instead thereof be inserted "Justice of the Peace," and that no writ or process shall have or bear any date, save the year of our Lord only, any law, usage, or custom to the contrary notwithstanding.

Of all the laws of Great Britain, under which the colonists lived when the supreme head was an English king, only one has remained in force: an act of Parliament passed in 1762, establishing the Gregorian calendar. The steadiness of the Connecticut temper is seen in the lack of radical changes in the laws up to the Revolution. After the revision of 1702, forty years passed before there was another.

There has long been a keen interest in the Connecticut "Blue Laws," and after years of attack and defense, it is possible now to consider the subject reasonably. Before the Revolution, there existed the phrase, current in New York, Massachusetts, and even New Haven—"Connecticut Blue Laws." It is a colloquial term applied to severe and antiquated laws found on the statute books of the older colonies, of which Connecticut was believed to possess an unusually stern edition. Soon after the Revolution, this state was made still more conspicuous by the publishing of a history by an Episcopal minister, Samuel Peters, who was born in Hebron in 1735, became rector of the little church in his native town, where he lived until the Revolution.

His aggressive loyalist convictions provoked the resentment of the Sons of Liberty, and a party of them threatened him with tar and feathers, and compelled him to promise to refrain from meddling with political affairs. Repeated offenses led to a second visit, and Peters, putting on his priestly robes, addressed the crowd, "quibbling and equivocating," as the story comes down to us through biased minds, but the men pressed into the parsonage and found loaded guns and pistols. Then they seized Peters, tearing his clothes, putting him in a cart, they hauled him by his own oxen to the Green, where they set him on the public horse-block, and forced him to sign a declaration and confession that he repented of his past misdeeds, and promised that he would give no further cause for complaint. He was then made to read the papers aloud to the crowd and give three cheers. Peters says that the mob "destroyed his windows, rent his clothes, almost killed one of his church people, tarred and feathered two, and abused others." Governor Trumbull ordered the civil authority at Hebron to "preserve peace and good order, and put the laws in execution." Peters knew he would be safer and happier elsewhere, and he soon moved to Boston, and in November, 1774, sailed for England, sending back letters to friends in Hebron, but spies behind stone walls overheard his messengers talk about the letters, and securing the missives of the angry minister they offered the unfortunate letter-carriers a whipping or running the gauntlet; choosing the latter, they became the objects of the spite of the Sons and Daughters of Liberty of the neighborhood, and were glad to get through with their lives.

Peters was twenty years in England, and it is not surprising to learn that, burning with rage over the rough treatment he had received, he published in 1781, a history of Connecticut, which no one can read without seeing that there is opportunity for self-control and judgment in coming to a conclusion upon the Munchausen writings of a man who

Chief-Justice Oliver Ellsworth and his Wife, Abigail Wolcott Ellsworth

From a painting by R. Earl, 1792. By courtesy of William Webster Ellsworth, Esq., of the Century Publishing Co.

speaks of the water at Bellows Falls as so "consolidated by pressure, by swiftness, between the pinching, sturdy rocks, to such a degree of induration that no iron crow can be forced into it," and the stream is "harder than marble." He also speaks of the "infamous villainy of Hooker, who spread death upon the leaves of his Bible, and struck Connecticote (a great sachem) mad with disease," and of the conviction and punishment of an Episcopal minister in 1750, for breaking the Sabbath by walking too fast from church and combing a lock of his wig on Sunday. As specimens of the "Blue Code of Connecticut," he says, it "made it criminal in a mother to kiss her infant on the Sabbath-day"; "Every male shall have his hair cut round according to a cap"; "No one shall read Common Prayer, keep Christmas or Saints-days, make minced pies, dance, play cards, or play on any instrument of music, except the drum, trumpet and Jews' harp." It must be admitted that the irritated Peters went beyond his authorities in these statements, but it must also be said that in the large majority of the forty-five laws which he collected, there was a basis not only in the statutes of New Haven and Connecticut, but also in the laws and courts of Massachusetts, whence, as we have noticed, most of the Connecticut laws were derived. The injustice of the Blue Law charge is in singling out Connecticut for derision, and in publishing four ridiculous laws which had a place only in Peters's heated imagination. In 1631, Massachusetts passed a law that no man should court a maid unless by consent of the parents, and Connecticut borrowed it. In 1647, Massachusetts passed a law to banish Quakers, under penalty of death if they returned, while New Haven never threatened Quakers with death, but gave a choice of imprisonment, banishment, whipping, and branding, with the expenses paid by the resolute visitors. The law against card-playing prevailed in Massachusetts as well as in Connecticut, and as late as 1812, seven young men in New Haven were fined for violation of this law. The law that

married people should live together was no bluer in Connecticut than in Massachusetts. The law permitting the rack or torture in examination of witnesses, or, as we should now say, "third degree," was a law of Massachusetts too, though it was not to be "inhumane."

It would be impossible to give more than the faintest idea of the regulations in the different towns, ranging from settling a minister to killing blackbirds and rattlesnakes. Swine appear to have been one of the most fruitful topics. Innumerable were the perplexities that came up year after year. Sometimes they were ordered to be *rung* and *yoked;* sometimes to be confined, then again they could go at large. Here is a sample vote passed in Norwich: "In the time of acorns, we judge it may be profitable to suffer swine two months or thereabouts to go in the woods without rings." Yokes were to be two feet in length, and six inches above the neck. The recording of cattle marks was a serious task, and necessary, as pasture lands were held in common, and private fences often insecure. These marks were made on the ear, and were a cross, a half-cross, and various kinds of slits and notches. The towns were in the habit of making grants of land to those who promoted public improvement. Hugh Amos, who in 1681, first established a ferry over Shetucket River, received one hundred acres of land. Millers and blacksmiths were so valuable that they were given prizes of land. In 1680, Captain Fitch of Norwich was granted two hundred acres on condition that he build a saw mill in a certain place. Thomas Harris of Glastonbury received in 1667, a grant of forty acres of land on condition that he should build a saw mill in Glastonbury. There was much confusion in the deeds and lines, because of imperfect surveys and vague and contradictory deeds. Many of the bounds were transitory, as appears when one considers such bounds as these,—a black oak with a crotch, a white oak, a tree with a heap of stones around it, a bowlder, a clump of chestnuts, a walnut with a limb lopped off, and a birch with a gash in it.

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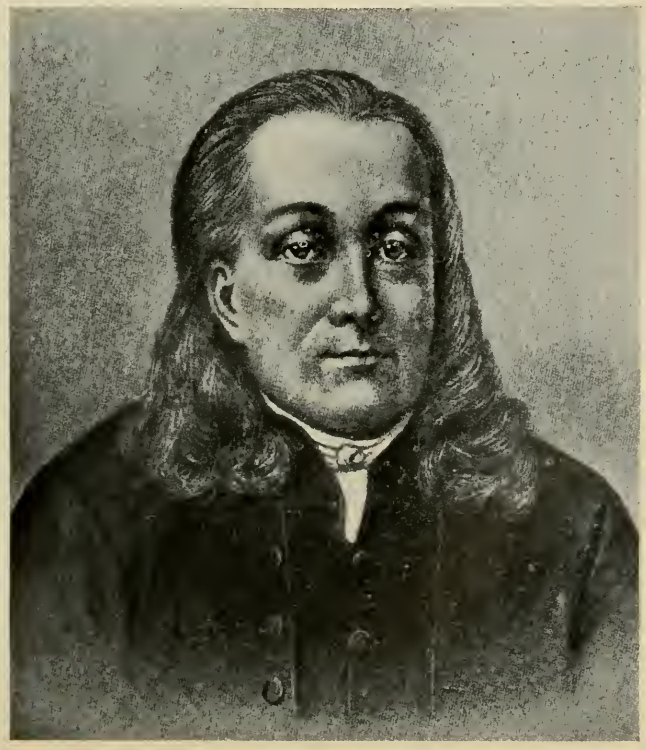


Tapping Reeve (1744–1823)

From an Old Print

Connecticut has had many distinguished lawyers, as might be imagined from the quality of the settlers, the conditions favoring strong individuality and the establishment, in 1784, of the first American law school in Litchfield. Tapping Reeve was the founder of the school, and after exerting a profound influence upon successive classes of students in his school, he became judge of the Superior Court, and then chief justice. Reeve was a man who "loved law as a science and studied it as a philosopher." It was from Litchfield that the first volume of reported law cases printed in the United States appeared in 1789. Among the graduates of the school were five Cabinet ministers, two justices of the United States Supreme Court, ten governors of states, sixteen United States senators, fifty members of Congress, forty judges of the higher state courts, and eight chief justices of the state.

In the constitutional convention of 1787, the three lawyers from Connecticut, Sherman, Ellsworth, and Johnson, contributed keenness, good judgment, and experience. In 1789, Oliver Ellsworth was sent to represent the state at the first session of the Senate; he was made chairman of the judiciary committee, and drew up the act of Congress under which the courts of the United States were organized after the pattern found in Connecticut, the merit of which appears in the fact that they remained substantially unchanged for a hundred years. In 1795, Chief Justice Swift published at Windham the first general and systematic treatise on the laws of any state, it being the *System of the Laws of the State of Connecticut.* In 1810, Swift became the author of the first American treatise on the law of evidence, it being also the first American *case-book*, for use in legal education, and in 1823, he published the first American work descriptive of the whole body of law and equity.

Jeremiah Mason, who was born in Lebanon in 1768, became United states Senator and attorney-general of New

Hampshire, of whom Daniel Webster said: "Of my own professional discipline and attainments, whatever they may be, I owe much to that close attention to the discharge of my duties, which I was compelled to pay for nine successive years from day to day, to Mr. Mason's efforts and arguments at the same bar." Webster said also: "Go as deep as you will, you will always find Jeremiah Mason below you." From Bozrah went Reuben H. Hyde to be chancellor of New York, and Story called him "the greatest equity judge of his time." Lyme has furnished three chief justices of the Supreme Court of the state, Henry M. Waite, Matthew Griswold, Jr., and Roger Griswold; also Judge C. J. McCurdy and M. R. Waite, chief justice of the United States.

Connecticut has been a leader in making law, of which there are three important instances according to Simeon E. Baldwin:

1. The common law excluded from the witness-stand every one who had a pecuniary interest in the event of the action. The first statute to abolish the rule was by the General Assembly, in 1848, and the author of the reform was Justice McCurdy of Lyme, who, on going abroad later on diplomatic service, brought it to the attention of some men of influence in England; in 1851, Parliament took similar action, and every other state in the Union has adopted the method of McCurdy.

2. The United States inherited an artificial system of legal remedies, and in 1879, Connecticut enacted a brief "Practice Act," leaving all details to be worked out through rules adopted from time to time by the judges of the higher courts. Of this act David Dudley Field, an author of the New York code, said that it was the best form yet devised, and it has remained substantially unchanged for thirty years.

3. In 1895, Connecticut took action to prevent the marriage of the unfit, extending the prohibition to paupers, epileptics, and imbeciles.

REPORTS

OF

CASES

ADJUDGED IN THE

SUPERIOR COURT

OF THE

State of Connecticut.

FROM THE YEAR 1785, TO MAY 1788;

WITH SOME

DETERMINATIONS

IN THE

SUPREME COURT OF ERRORS.

BY EPHRAIM KIRBY, ESQUIRE.

LITCHFIELD: PRINTED BY COLLIER & ADAM.

M,DCC,LXXXIX.

Facsimile of the Title-page of the First Published Law Reports in America

It is from the original volume in the possession of the Connecticut State Library

This is a good place in which to speak of the seal of the state. In a paper by Roger Wolcott, written in 1759, he says that his stepfather, Daniel Clark, secretary of the colony between 1658, and 1666, told him that the seal was given the colony by George Fenwick, agent for the proprietors, under the Warwick patent. There is an impression of this seal in the State Library; it is in wax and is affixed to the commission of John Winthrop as magistrate of New London in 1647. It represents a vineyard of fifteen vines, with a hand above, and the motto, "Svstinet qvi transtvlit." It was ordered in 1662, that the seal previously used remain the seal of the colony, and the first printed revision of the statutes made in 1673, had, by order of the Assembly, an impression of it on the title page. When Andros took the government in 1687, the seal disappeared, and Gershom Bulkley says John Allyn delivered it to Andros. When the charter government was resumed in 1689, a larger seal was made with the motto, "Svstinet qvi transtvlit," and no further change was made until the next century when a new stamp was ordered, suitable to seal wafers. It was larger, and instead of fifteen vines, it had but three, with a hand pointing to them, and on a label below, the motto, "Qvi transtvlit svstinet." Around the seal are the words, "Sigillvm Coloniæ Connecticensis." In 1747, the Assembly ordered that the oval be changed to a circle, and engraved, with corrections of mistakes, but nothing was done. In May, 1784, the Assembly voted to change the words around the seal to "Sigill. reip. Connecticutensis," but the inscription was cut without abbreviation, though the shortened form is in the engravings of that period. In October, 1784, the new seal was approved, and ordered to be kept by the secretary. In the constitution of 1818, it was ordered that the seal be not altered, and now there are two seals: one procured in 1842, for sealing with wax or wafer, a seal with three clusters of grapes on each vine, made of brass; the other, used on paper, without wax, and declared sufficient

in 1851; supposed to have been obtained in 1782. The first issue of bills of credit in 1709, has the seal with three vines. When small bills were issued in 1777, a small seal with one vine was used; it was used also in the secretary's office to seal letters.

Seals of Connecticut and Hooker's Declaration

This collection of seals, with Hooker's concise statement of the reason for the migration from Massachusetts to Connecticut, is the central panel in the floor in Memorial Hall in the Connecticut State Library. The lower seal at the left is the English seal used during colonial days; that at the right of this was in use, 1711–1784. The upper right-hand seal came into use in 1662, and disappeared in 1787, when Andros was governor. That at the upper left was made in 1784, and the Constitution of 1818, declared that it should not be altered. It is now in use.

CHAPTER VIII

HOW THE PEOPLE LIVED IN THE EARLY DAYS

HOWEVER important we may consider a clear view of the settlement, government, and courts of Connecticut, the question how the people lived appeals to most of us more intimately. The story is an interesting one, because of the vigor of the actors and the variety and strenuousness of the surroundings. It is a story of resolute men and women making their way into a stern situation, and with good sense, ingenuity, steady nerves, and unconquerable resolution carrying their task through. The Puritans, unable to reform the church at home, and unwilling longer to brave the hostility of William Laud, who wielded the despotic power of the star-chamber, came to America to build after their own ideas a state, in which Christian institutions should exist in their simplest forms. None, save the Pilgrims at Plymouth, had renounced the Church of England, or separated from its communion, and only one boat-load of these came to Connecticut, faring so badly at Windsor, that their neighbors at Plymouth preferred to bear the ills there, rather than to crowd in where they were not wanted. The settlers of Connecticut were members of a great religious and political party, in an age when every man's religion was a matter of political regulation. They were in the reforming party in church and state, earnest, determined, practical men, with a keen sense of the presence of God and of the value of their theory of civil government. Though humble

before God, they proposed to follow their convictions without fear or favor. They were plain, shrewd, straightforward people, who usually knew what they wanted to do, and went at once to the point. Even their burial service suggests their dread of ceremony, for Lechford says of the customs about 1640: "Nothing is read, or any funeral sermon made, but all the neighborhood, or a good company of them, come together by tolling bell, and carry the dead solemnly to his grave, and stand by while buried." Their seriousness made it hard for them to enjoy certain jokes as appears from a record of 1648, as follows: "The Court adjudgeth Peter Bussaker for his filthy and profane expressions (namely, that he hoped to meete some of the members of the church in hell ere long, and he did not but question that he should) to be committed to prison, there to be kept in safe custody, till the sermon, and then to stand the time thereof in the pillory, and after the sermon to be severely whipped."

There is a type of mind which cannot think of Puritanism save as "mere acrid defiance, and sanctimonious sectarianism, nor of the Puritans save as a band of ignorant and half crazy zealots." A calmer and clearer view of them leads us to see that they were, as Bradford said, "muskeeto proof," and that they were also men with a passion for God and the kingdom of heaven which often gave to their devotion to righteousness a seriousness which easily became sternness; a devotion like that of Cromwell, a keen conviction of the sovereignty of God as the absolute and invincible authority over all. They believed that things are right or wrong because they are made so by the fiats of their infinite Ruler and King. That they were not depressed by this conception, and did not become weak and dreamy, is due to the fact that with their practical, Teutonic ambition for trade and enterprise they had too much else to do, and while they were idealists, they were too busy to become morbid, and had too much common sense to brood. The

fashion of speaking of them as joyless and hopeless, of dwelling in gloom and severity upon the dismal and the disagreeable, is appropriate for a mind soured as was that of Samuel Peters, but read the quaint humor of that sturdy age. Notice how readily the writers of that day passed into rhyme. Husbands and wives loved each other as tenderly as now, though not every woman could express her affection for her husband as gracefully as Margaret Winthrop. "Faith in God, faith in man, faith in work," this, as Lowell says, is the formula which sums up the teaching of the founders of New England. Our account of Puritan character were incomplete without reference to the Blue Laws, described at length in the preceding chapter, and to the distorted portraiture Samuel Peters made of the Connecticut Puritans, who he said "out-pop'd the Pope, out-king'd the King and out-bishop'd the Bishops."

A more cheerful view of the seventeenth century in Connecticut is found in the daily life of the Puritans. There was much of warfare in it; whether their axes bit their way into the forest, or the night wind brought the howl of the wolf—a sound dreaded by the bravest—there was little time for reverie. Governor Leete, while chief magistrate of the colony, kept a country store for the convenience of his neighbors at Guilford, and his sons were taught to toil in the field. Governor Treat was as well skilled in the faculty of ploughing a cornfield, or mowing a field of grass, as in fighting for the colony or defending the charter, and his father, Richard Treat, one of the first men in the colony, daily crossed the Connecticut in a boat and helped break up the stiff sward of Glastonbury. Winthrop endured severe hardships going from place to place to serve as magistrate, mediating between contending parties, procuring and defending land titles, and fulfilling the office of physician. Industry, frugality, thrift, and honest work were wrought into the foundations of the commonwealth.

The earliest houses of logs soon gave way to frame

houses, or even to stone, as in the case of a house built in 1640, in Guilford, by the Rev. Henry Whitfield, its solid and massive walls still celebrating the fame of one of the founders of Guilford. An occasional style in early times was the old plank frame dwellings, whose sides were commonly of two-inch plank, spiked perpendicularly to the heavy framework, and either clapboarded or shingled on the outside. There was little studding used on the inside, and even the partitions were often of inch lumber carried from floor to cross-beams, with a paneled base. In the central part of the house was a chimney with many flues, being about twelve feet square in the foundations, and sometimes containing a small room on the first floor. The typical house of the first period was of two stories, with two rooms in each story, and the large chimney between. On one side of the chimney was the stairway leading to the second story. The cellar usually extended under only a part of the house. The frame was of oak, and the walls were not sheathed, but the space between the studs was often filled in with clay mixed with hay. The exterior was covered with wide clapboards, and the hand-rived shingles on the roof would last one hundred years; those on the roof of the Farmington meeting-house lasted one hundred and thirty-five years. The interior was ceiled, or sometimes left unfinished. Across the center of each room from wall to chimney ran an immense beam parallel with the front of the house. This beam was called the *summer* or the *summer-tree*, and was either boxed in or left as the axe hewed it. In many of the houses, the second story overhung the first, and was overhung by the attic. The overhanging was produced in this way: the corner oaken posts were placed with the larger part at the top, and, just below the second story, a part of the thickness was hewn away, leaving a scroll-like ornament called a *corbel*, and the second story projecting over the first about four inches, with sometimes a pendant at the corner. As wealth and family increased, such a two-story

house was enlarged by extending the rear roof to the level of the first story, giving a place for three rooms behind the original two rooms, with a loft above. The middle room of these three was the kitchen with its capacious fireplace, and later on a brick oven in the chimney, in which numberless pies were baked. One of the other rooms was a pantry or buttery, and the third a bedroom. Such a house was called a *lean-to*, or in some places a *salt-box* house from its resemblance to the salt-box hanging in the chimney corner. It is said that this form of roof was adopted to avoid an extra tax.

Not far from the time that the lean-to house was introduced the gambrel roof came into fashion—so named because of its fancied resemblance to the hind leg of a horse. After a time, the builders began to put in two chimneys and have an entry run through the middle of the house, though many conservatives clung to the older style, often the lean-to was given up, and instead a shed was built. Houses were usually large, as lumber was plenty and children apt to be numerous. Fireplaces were commonly large. The Shipman House in South Glastonbury contains a fireplace nine feet and five inches in length, four and a half feet high, three feet deep, and two brick ovens. Often there was a porch in front, with a chamber over it. That of Thomas Hooker, had a porch, and the chamber over it was the preacher's study. The early houses were often built of wood put up cob-house fashion, or having posts at the corners with small branches of trees between, and clay mixed with hay. These chimneys were lined with clay, and were inspected often by the chimney-viewers. Brick chimneys were in the houses of the wealthy, but *catted chimneys*, as those we have just described were called, were common. In Hartford, it was voted in 1640, that "every householder shall provide a sufficient ladder standing at his houseside, reaching to the ridge of his house, or within two feet, by his chimney." Chimney-viewers were to examine the chimneys every six

weeks in winter and every quarter in summer. It was also ordered in 1640, that "Jo Gening shall sweep all chimneys, and have 6d for brick and 3d for clay."

Later, there was a change in the style of building houses, and the house of Colonel Joseph Pitkin, built in 1726, in East Hartford is a good illustration of the substantial homes before the Revolution. It was built after the old scribe method by which every stud or piece of timber was marked or scribed for the particular place it was to occupy. The sills were of oak, forty-one feet long, eight by ten inches. The building had oak posts nine by nine inches at the bottom and ten by fifteen inches at the top, being mortised about half-way up to receive the cross-beams of white oak, eight by twelve inches. The beams were thirty feet long and carried the weight of the second floor without any studding to support them. The interior finish was heavy paneling of native yellow and white pine. The main plates were of white oak forty-one feet long and seven inches square, which were securely framed into the posts. The king rafters were of white oak, five by six inches and twenty-two feet long. Some of the boards were twenty-six inches wide, and there were five large fireplaces. Several of the sleeping rooms had beds the posts of which were mortised into the floor and extended to the ceiling, supporting a framework from which draped a heavy curtain. The house was studded with three-by-four oak studs, mortised into the sills and plates, to which were nailed the sheathing boards, the edges of the sheathing being beveled so as to make a tight joint, and then reinforced by an inner sheathing upon which the laths were nailed to receive the inner finish of plaster. Paper was in use before the Revolution, and in the room in the Webb House in Wethersfield in which Washington rested, the paper was imported from England, and is rich and heavy. Nails, hinges, and latches were hammered out on the anvil.

Coming now to the food of the people, we start with the

breakfast of the farmers, which often consisted of a soup made of salt meat and beans, seasoned with herbs,—a dish called *bean-porridge.* Dinner was the substantial meal, and was served at noon; a large Indian meal pudding, with an appropriate sauce, was often the first course, and was so filling that the boiled beef or pork which followed was attacked less ravenously,—a prudent expedient, as meat was not always plentiful, though those living near river and Sound could easily obtain fish, and at certain seasons game was abundant. The waters teemed with fish, and both salmon and shad were caught in great numbers, and salted for home and foreign use. It was an occasional custom of apprentices, in binding themselves to their masters, to stipulate that salmon should not be served oftener than twice a week; and at times shad were so plenty and cheap, that it was considered disreputable for any but "poor folks to eat shad." In all but the most wealthy families, food was cooked in the apartment where it was eaten, at the large fireplace, and a trammel in the chimney, by means of its hook, which could be moved up or down, held the kettle at the right distance above the fire. At one end of the fireplace there came in time an oven, and there were also the gridiron, a long-handled frying-pan, and a spit for roasting before the fire. At the end of the room were pewter platters, porringers, and basins, also a brass ladle, skimmer, colander, and warming-pan. A brew-house was a necessity, and beer as often on the table as bread. Seeds of vegetables were imported, and while potatoes were regarded with suspicion for many years—making their entry into the menu at about 1720, and used sparingly—turnips were much enjoyed, as were peas, beans, and pumpkins. Succotash, name and dish borrowed from the Indians, was soon popular in August and September, when Indian corn was in the milk and beans were plenty. Hasty pudding, consisting of boiled meal of corn or rye, and sweetened with molasses or maple syrup on the table, was a common food.

Brown bread, "rye and injun," a mixture of two parts corn-meal and one part rye, was the bread of the majority of the people.

Very substantial food was served at supper. It was almost always cold, with an occasional variation of cakes of corn-meal, rye, or buckwheat. Samp and hominy were enjoyed by both Indians and English. Baked beans formed a nourishing food from early times and the favorite time for them was Saturday night. The regular dinner on Saturdays (not on Fridays, which would have savored of the papacy) was salted codfish. The dishes were of pewter, wood, and crockery, though there was not much of the last for many years. Chief Justice Ellsworth, who was born in Windsor in 1745, told his son that when he was a boy "all ate upon wooden trenchers, that manners were then so coarse and such as would now in many respects prove disgusting, that men in Windsor assembled in each other's houses and would drink out a barrel of cider in one night." Silver tankards, cups, and spoons were owned by the wealthy, but cups, platters, and pitchers were usually of pewter. At one house a broken pewter spoon was given to Washington, with which to eat bread and milk, he gave the maid two shillings to borrow a silver spoon, and she found one at the minister's.

Yankee cooks early achieved a skill that made them famous the world over, and before long they became experts with berries of all kinds, also with plums, nuts, grapes, and apples, which were put into all kinds of preserves, pickles, and syrups. There was little money in circulation, and little was needed, as most of the living came from forest, field, and river. One cone of sugar, weighing ten or fifteen pounds, with honey, molasses, and maple syrup would sweeten a family for a year. The art of making the syrup was learned from the Indians, who made it in large quantities.

Wind and water were used from early times, though the timber of the earliest days was sawn in saw-pits, the "top-

sawyer" standing on the timber, and the "pitman" beneath it. Clapboards were split with axes and wedges. In 1677, Wethersfield gave Gershom Bulkley, their new minister, "liberty to make a mill pond," since it was informed that he was "minded to build a corne mill." Wind as a motive power was used in grist-mills to some extent. Brick mills were in early use; in 1653, Samuel Dickenson, a youth of sixteen, was employed by Matthew Williams of Wethersfield to assist in making bricks, and was paid sixpence a day "in wampum." In 1635, the Court established the size of bricks. Tanning and curing the skins of cattle, sheep, and goats was an important industry, regulated by law as early as 1640. Farmers usually took the pelts of the slaughtered animals to the local tanneries, and from the hides had boots, shoes, and other useful articles made, as the needs called.

There were few wheeled carriages, besides the rude ox-cart, until the middle of the eighteenth century, and not many until after the Revolution. It is with a feeling of surprise that we read in the will of Jabez Hamlin of Middletown, probated in 1788, of the bequest of "sleigh and riding chair" to his widow; that carriage must have been an unusual feature in the quiet town. The first pleasure carriage in Litchfield was in 1776, and was owned by a prisoner of war. The bridegroom carried his bride home on a pillion behind him, if he had not asked a neighbor to be his help-meet, and the Sunday worshipers from a distance rode on horseback, or went afoot; in winter, sleds drew the devout worshipers to the icy meeting-house, where the patient hour-glass measured off the long sermons, communion bread sometimes froze, and the foot-stoves gave a slight relief.

The militia in the early period covered all of the sterner sex between sixteen and sixty, except those who were exempt, and men were expected to provide arms and ammunition at their own expense, if possible. Soldiers

wore corselets and coats quilted with cotton. They carried pikes, matchlocks, swords, a pair of pouches for powder and bullets, and a rest, on which to poise the heavy musket when firing. The pikes were ten feet long. The train-band was the unit of the army, varying in number from fifty-four to two hundred. There were twice as many musketeers as pikemen, the latter being of superior stature; trainings began and closed with prayer.

The prominence of warfare is suggested by the prevalence of military titles. Previous to 1654, captain was the highest office in the colony. Captain John Mason of Windsor was the first officer of that high rank in Connecticut; and he was a noble specimen, tall, portly, soldier-like, with the proud consciousness of having served in the Netherlands, under William of Orange. Wherever he went, the boys and girls looked up to him as though he were a visitor from a superior planet. Only a few were called "Mister" or "Missis"; the common word for a person above servitude and below gentility was "Goodman" or "Goodwife," sometimes "Goody." In New Haven colony "Brother" was the common title in early days. There was a decided nasal prevalent, a "Puritan heirloom" due possibly to the climate, which fosters a chronic cold in the head.

From earliest times, the smithy was prized, as axes, chisels, shovels, picks, hoes, nails, spikes, bolts, and iron bars were fashioned there, as well as shoes for oxen and horses. Charcoal was in common use, and coal-pits abounded in the forests. Cordage was manufactured from hemp for the rigging of ships from an early time. Hemp was raised in Wethersfield as early as 1640. Fulling mills came in the seventeenth century; carding and weaving were done by hand, and there were looms for weaving serges, kerseys, flannels, fustians, linsey-woolseys, tow-cloth, dimities, and jeans; flax and hemp were the earliest materials, and after wolves were subdued, wool came into use. The dress was plain homespun and leather, and leather breeches

were so full and free in girth, that the front could be changed to the rear when signs of wear appeared. In winter, the coats of homespun were proof against wind and rain. The well-to-do were dressy, wearing shoes of buff leather, and through the slashes could be seen scarlet or green stockings. Buckles of pinchbeck and silver ornamented with garnets were worn at the knee and on the shoe. Ladies wore elegant shoes, mourning shoes, fine silk shoes, flowered russet shoes, shoes of black velvet, white damask, red morocco, and red everlasting; damask worsted shoes in red, blue, green, pink, and white; shoes of satinet with flowers in the vamp. Those who could afford it wore silks, velvets, and beaver; red was a favorite colour, with blue as a close second; red cloaks were the top of a tireless fashion. Coats of red cloth were much worn by the men, with long vests of plush in various colors; and plush breeches with no suspenders. The test of a well-formed man was his ability to keep his breeches above his hips, and his ungartered stockings above his calves. In the earliest times men wore the sugar-loaf hat; but later, the hats usually had broad brims, turned up into three corners. Laborers wore a coarse linen for shirts, and striped breeches of the same material; working women wore petticoats and half gowns, drawn about the waist with a cord. Hats were made of wool, with the exception of a few in every town who took off a costly "black beaverett" at the church door. The poorer sort of people wore a cap, knit from woolen yarn. The coat was made with a long, straight body, falling below the knee, and with no collar, so that the band, or neckcloth of spotless linen, fastened behind with a silver buckle, was clearly seen. Red woolen stockings were much admired. The shoes were coarse, square-toed and adorned with large buckles, and if any boots appeared, they made a heavy thumping passing up the aisles.

In the years before the Revolution, Connecticut was not celebrated for its economy. There was a passion for gather-

ing and hoarding articles of attire. A woman had an ambition to have a chestful of linen. Here is an inventory of the possessions of a Norwich lady in 1757. There were gowns of brown duroy, striped stuff, plain stuff, black silk, crepe, calico and blue camelot; a scarlet cloak, blue cloak, satin flowered mantle and scarf: a camlet riding hood, long silk hood, velvet hood, white hood trimmed with lace, and nineteen caps; also sixteen handkerchiefs and fourteen aprons, together with fan, necklace and cloak clasps. In 1760, gowns began to be worn with close-fitting bodice, and skirt sewed on with a multiplicity of fine gathers; with petticoats beautifully quilted. Every lady of fashion wore an ornamental case suspended from the waist, in which were thimble, scissors, and scent-bottle. Snuff-box and pomander for both sexes were elegant features of the eighteenth century. As early as 1766, French fashions began to decorate the ladies and empty pocketbooks. Artificial flowers were much worn. The calash was a charming article of dress on the head of a pretty girl; one "looked down a green lane to see a rose blooming at the end." Skirts were expanded by hoops, three or four feet across. For great occasions, the hair was sometimes tortured for four hours, and ladies would sleep in a sitting posture to avoid disturbing the majestic sugar-loaf creation. Wigs were worn for years with long queue, or ending in a silk bag behind.

Furniture was substantial; the cherry desks, high-boys, low-boys, chests of drawers and oaken chairs suggest a sterling age. There was one extravagance which the Puritans were slow to give up, and that was the habit of wearing expensive boots and shoes. Ephraim Williams of Wethersfield was a maker of fine boots and shoes, and his account-book for 1746–60 has come down to us. It gives prices which seem extravagant in these economical times. Colonel Israel Williams of Hartford paid him four pounds for a pair of double-channeled pumps, and for a pair of

An *Aſtronomical* DIARY,

OR, AN

ALMANACK

For the Year of our LORD CHRIST,

1753.

Being the firſt after BISSEXTILE, or LEAP-YEAR: And in the Twenty-Sixth Year of the Reign of our moſt Gracious Sovereign KING GEORGE *II.*

Wherein is contained the Lunations, Eclipſes, Mutual Aſpects of the Planets, Sun and Moon's Riſing & Setting, Riſing, Setting & Southing of the Seven Stars, Time of High-Water, Courts, Obſervable Days, Spring Tides, Judgment of the Weather, *&c.*

Calculated for the Lat. of 41 Deg. North, & the Meridian of *New-London* in CONNECTICUT.

By ROGER SHERMAN.

TIme ſprung from Darkneſs, & from ancient Night
And ruſh'd along with the firſt Beams of Light;
In *Sol's* bright *Carr* he ſeis'd the flowing reins,
And drove his Courſers thro' the Æthereal Plains,
Whoſe Radiant Beams affect our feeble Eyes
And fill our Minds with Wonder and Surprize,
And ſtill his Wheels on their ſwift Axles Roll
With eager haſte to reach the deſtin'd Goal;
Faſt as the Winds their rapid Courſe they bend,
Croud on the Scenes to bring the fatal End.

NEW-LONDON:
Printed & Sold by T. GREEN, 1753.

Facsimile Title-page of a Roger Sherman Almanac

The volume is in the Library of the Connecticut Historical Society

double-channeled boots the price was fourteen pounds; an enormous price, but there was leather enough in a pair for six pairs of shoes, and those great hand-made, square-toed casings would last years, and perhaps become heirlooms.

For most of the people life was simple, neighborly, and without parade. Quarters of beef, veal, and lamb were exchanged; wages of unskilled labor in the earlier years were two shillings a day, and double that after the Revolution. There was no glass on the table to break, no tablecloth to wear out, no china to nick; sand was good enough for the parlor carpet, and fashions came to stay. No description of the early life of Connecticut would be complete without a reference to the almanac, for the Bible and almanac were necessary in every home. Long before the almanac became a composite of information on sun and moon phases, pills, salves, jokes, and bitters, it held the place of a small encyclopedia of knowledge concerning the heavenly bodies, court and freemen's meetings, interest tables, distances from tavern to tavern, prophecies about the weather, texts of sermons, household receipts, date of neighbor's birth, wedding, or death, when the big storm occurred, the great tree blew down, and the sheep went to pasture. The first Connecticut man to compile an almanac was John Tully of Saybrook Point, and his series continued from 1687, to 1702, and at the latter date, he "dyed as he was finishing this Almanack."

In 1750, Roger Sherman brought out an almanac; he continued the series until 1761. One gains fresh confidence in Sherman's uncommon common sense as he reads his prophecy of the weather for December 2, 1754, "Freezing cold weather, after which comes storm of snow, but how long after I don't say."

There were then two ways of reckoning time: the historical, which began on the first of January, and the ecclesiastical year, which began on the twenty-fifth of March. In the earlier seventeenth century almanacs

March appears first while January and February follow December. This accounts for the double dates found in books of that period. In 1709, Thomas Short established the first printing-press in Connecticut; it was set up in New London, and that year an almanac by Daniel Travis appeared with the New London imprint.

In the practice of medicine the doctors were helped out by the Indians, but more by the home-made remedies in which "roots and herbs" played a leading part. Since doctors charged extra fee when bleeding was resorted to, it is not perhaps strange that the physicians discovered frequent need of letting out blood that the disease might have less to feed upon. Bills were not very high, as appears from the bill of Dr. Caleb Bushnell of Norwich in 1723, "tords the cure of Christian Challenge:

To 3 travells	7	6
to Lusisalig Bolsum	4	0
to 3 times bleeding	1	6"

Fresh air was considered dangerous for the sick, especially night air, and cooling drinks for fevered lips nearly fatal. Dentistry was an undiscovered country, except as the family physician wrenched out a tooth by aid of an instrument of torture called a *turn-key*.

The first artificial light used by the settlers was the pine torch, the idea coming from the Indians. Then came "candle-wood," sections of dry pine logs, cut into lengths of eight inches and split thin, which were used for carrying about the house and to read by, although the pitchy drippings were trying. In 1696, Farmington voted that no inhabitant should be prohibited from felling pine trees for candle wood, and Higginson wrote:

Yea, our pine trees that are the most plentiful of all wood, doth allow us plenty of candles which are very useful in a house; and they are such candles as the Indians use and no other, and they are

nothing else but the wood of the pine tree cloven into little slices, something thin, which are so full of the moisture of turpentine and pitch, that they burn as clear as a torch.

By 1660, candle-making was a common task for housewives, and deer and bear suet was mixed with beef tallow; wax also was furnished by the bees. Rushlights were used instead of candles, when a slight flame would do, and they were formed by dipping rushes in tallow. Fats, grease, and table refuse were combined with vegetable oils and used in the old Betty lamps, and for a century and a half beginning with 1690, the oil in common use in lamps was crude whale oil.

There was plenty of hard work in the early years, and one only needs to think of the toil connected with making cloth to see that the united energies of the whole family were enlisted. After the men had raised and harvested the flax, it was no easy task to break and swingle stubborn fiber before the hands of the women could hatchel and card it. Then it was wearisome to cleanse, separate, and comb out the matted fleece. Children and grandparents were enlisted to wind the quills and turn the reels, while grown-up daughters and sturdy matrons accomplished their "day's work" at loom or spinning-wheel. At length the household was supplied with sheeting, blankets, towels, coverlets, heavy woolen cloth for winter wear, and tow-cloth, linsey-woolseys, and ginghams for the summer. Families were large, and there was much good-fellowship in the neighborhoods except when quarrels raged, and then the people were vigorous haters. There were many pleasures mingled with the anxieties and hard work; the people enjoyed going to church, and their nerves were so deep that they were not fretted by long sermons. If bad came to worse they could drop off to sleep, provided they evaded the watchful tithing-man with his long pole with a squirrel's tail at the end of it. Domestic and neighborly festivities, such as husk-

ings and raisings, were merry occasions, and flip increased the hilarity. Thanksgiving was a delightful home feast, and training days were bright spots in quiet lives. There was a kind of spice given to their humdrum existence by the many signs and superstitions they watched and were possessed by. We shall notice later the witchcraft epidemic, but must refer here to the fear lest the moon be looked at over the left shoulder, and the anxiety to plant vegetables and butcher steer or pig in the right phases of the moon. Potatoes, carrots, and beets, growing under the surface, were planted in the "dark of the moon," and corn, peas, and beans in the "light of the moon." Then, too, pig or steer must be slain when the moon was waxing, otherwise it would "shrink in the pot." Brush was cut "when the moon was in the heart"; to see an odd number of crows was lucky; when a cow was lost, a stick was set on end and let fall to see in which direction she went; it was supposed that the place to dig for water could be discovered by a piece of hazel, which would turn toward the springs. A story went the rounds of a scoffer, who started to build a ship on Friday; named it Friday, launched it Friday, set sail on Friday and was never heard from again. To spill salt was sign of a quarrel, but if a little were thrown over the right shoulder, the danger was averted. There were haunted houses in most of the towns, and demons were supposed to inhabit lonely roads to terrify travelers.

One of the most laughable events of those credulous years was the so-called *Battle of the Frogs*, which has come down in ballad and story from the early summer of 1758, when on a dark foggy night, just after midnight, shouts and cries were heard by the people of Windham, coming from a pond a mile east of the village. The whole town turned out and women and children tried to compete with the frogs in their outcries and screams, for some thought the French and Indians were about to make an attack, while others thought the noise was the trump of doom ushering in the

close of history. Toward daybreak, the noise died away, and in the morning hundreds, and some say thousands, of frogs were found dead in the pond. There must have been millions if Samuel Peters of Blue Law notoriety was accurate, for he says they "filled a road 40 rods wide and 4 miles in length." Some have thought that an earthquake killed the frogs, others that they killed one another in a frog Gettysburg, others that they died of over-excitement, since it is supposed that the frog sings only when it is happy.

A suggestion concerning one side of the life of the people is found in the fact that until 1700, there was a winter wolf hunt in Windham County; the last wolf at Woodstock was shot by Pembascus in 1732, and Ashford's last wolf in 1735. Israel Putnam achieved considerable fame by his adventure in a wolf's den, and the story that has come down to us is as follows: There was near his farm a craggy, precipitous hill range with ragged rocks and tangled forest; for years the neighboring country was ravaged, and innumerable sheepfolds robbed, by a wolf from that wild fastness; children feared to go up among the hills for berries. One morning seventy sheep and goats were reported as killed, besides many lambs and kids wounded and torn. Putnam had a bloodhound of superior strength, and with five neighbors the resolute farmer agreed to watch until the wolf was killed. The final hunt was in the winter of 1742–43, when a light snowfall enabled men and boys to track the wolf to his den. A day was spent in fruitless endeavor to persuade the beast to come out. Failing in that, Putnam threw off coat and waistcoat, and with a rope around his body, and a torch in his hand, he was lowered into the cave until he saw the glaring eyeballs; the second time he entered the cave he carried a gun and shot the wolf. The wildness of the life appears also from the fact that rattlesnakes were so numerous that for years a prize of fourpence a head was offered for them. The first fifteen days of May were set apart to hunt them in Windham

County. Bounties were offered for tails of rattlesnakes in various towns, and in Norwich, early in the eighteenth century, twopence apiece was given for all rattlesnakes killed between the fifteenth of April and the first of May, and people turned out in large numbers to hunt them. In 1721, the bounty was claimed for killing one hundred and sixty snakes in Norwich, and in 1730, the bounty was increased to two shillings apiece and three hundred were killed in fifteen days. In 1735, twenty pounds was paid, with the bounty at fourpence. In 1739, the bounty was raised again to ten shillings, and among those who claimed it were the Widow Woodworth, who was paid for twenty-three, and the Widow Smith for nine, and in those years he who claimed the bounty was obliged to take oath that he went out for no other purpose than to destroy them. There was enough to jar the nerves of the timid, and there is an old Norwich tradition that an adventurous lover, going home late one night from a visit to his lady-love below Little Plain, was snapped at by a wolf and hissed at by a rattlesnake.

There was much variety in the early life, and enough to foster brawn, courage, and daring. Struggles with Indians, wild animals, backward seasons, and reluctant soil were reinforced by problems of government, fears of the devil, wrestlings with the claims of a severe theology, church quarrels, and benighted superstitions. The sturdy consciousness of being engaged in doing the will of God, however stern the adversities, trained steady nerves, encouraged sound sleep, and promoted tireless thrift.

CHAPTER IX

THE EARLY RELIGIOUS LIFE

IT is a short step from a study of the way the people lived in the early years to a glance at their religious experience and devotion, so vital and all-pervasive was their consciousness of the presence of God, and so sure their faith in the infinite will, which they believed to be at the heart of the vast system over them. In the preamble to the Fundamental Orders, they said that they joined in one commonwealth "to maintain and preserve the libertty and purity of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus, which we now profess, as also the discipline of the churches, which, according to the truth of said Gospel is now practiced amongst us." Religion was to them a practical and urgent claim. Revolting against the formalism and corruptions of a state church, whose hand had been heavy against them, they crossed the Atlantic with a tireless assurance that everything is controlled by God's sovereignty, and that things are right or wrong because God says so; that nothing escapes the notice of God, whose clutch holds fast the freest choice. They also held strongly to the idea of human helplessness.

No higher authority for this can be quoted than Thomas Hooker, who once likened a "poore sinner" to the "wheele of a clock that is turned aside, and by some contrary poyse set the wrong way," which cannot be set right except by "a kind of holy violence" on the part of God. He says, "If there were a great and old distemper in a mans stomacke,

if a man should put a rich doublet upon him and lay him in a Featherbed, and use all other meanes, this would doe him noe good." Conversion as a violent process was the normal type in that strenuous age. The devil was as real to the settlers as the Lord, and almost as hard to down. "It is a tough work, a wonderfully hard matter to bee saved. It is not shedding a teare at a Sermon, or blubbering now and then in a corner, and saying over thy prayers, and crying God mercy for thy sins, will save thee," says Thomas Shepherd, Hooker's son-in-law. Willingness to be damned for the glory of God, which was developed more fully in the next century, was implied in the faith of the early Puritans. Minute and rigid self-inspection and thorough analysis of the inner life were urged and practiced. Merciless exposure of the naked soul was demanded that all danger of self-deception might be avoided; and candidates for church membership were required to run the gauntlet of fifty searching questions before they could be received. The solemnity and strictness which gathered about the Sabbath, the sharp watch on church-going, and the microscopic scrutiny of the soul by the Almighty and the individual, would have resulted in a piety more morbid than sound, more debilitating than healthful, had it not been for the wholesomeness and common sense of the Anglo-Saxon settlers and the hard work encountered. They believed that an Indian could not kill a settler unless God willed it; they also believed that God willed the settler to fire first if he could.

There is a story that has floated down the years of a settler spending a long evening in argument with a neighbor over the divine decrees, and when he took his gun and stepped out into the darkness, he examined the priming, which led his friend to say, "What is the use of that? If it is foreordained that an Indian should kill you, you cannot help yourself." "True," said the other, "but if it is foreordained that I should kill an Indian, I must be ready."

Wielding ax and swinging scythe helped to modify extreme views of divine control, while diabolic spite, morbid fancies, and torpid liver were corrected in some degree by the healthy outdoor living. Despite the wise teachings of Hooker, it was in the year 1648, six months after the powerful preacher breathed his last, that a woman was hanged in Hartford for familiarity with the devil. Watchfulness for Satan's officiousness in securing the death of a cow, a tempest, rheumatism, or Indian depravity helped correct excessive self-examination. Far more valuable was the daily reading of the Bible and prayer. Recoiling from the supremacy of the Church, they enthroned the Scriptures as the supreme authority.

The New Haven congregation rose while the minister solemnly pronounced the text. The whole Bible, even the Solomon Love Song, carried reverent worshipers straight to the heavenly throne. John Pynchon, the founder of Springfield, wrote a book in 1650, on the Atonement, presenting a view which has since prevailed largely in New England, and the Massachusetts legislature ordered it burnt, because it was supposed to be unfair to the Bible. Mrs. Hutchinson with her teaching of the higher life, and the Quakers with their claim to the immediate guidance of the Holy Spirit, were dangerous, because they seemed to disturb the authority of the Scriptures. The saintliness of the early years was neither morbidly sentimental, gloomy, excessively mystical or hard, considering the age and the heredity, but religion was at the center of everything. Family worship was an important feature of a Puritan household. At the beginning of every meal the blessing was asked, and at the close, thanks were given, every person standing by his chair in both instances. The day began and ended with Scripture and prayer, all standing during prayer.

From about 1660, there appeared symptoms of a decline from the austerity of the first years. Hardship, severe toil, worry over food, wolves and Indians, poor schools, and

the natural reaction, which our changeful human nature practices, brought in what has been called *The Puritan Decline*. This is clearly indicated in a book published in 1701, *A Testimony to the Order of the Gospel, in the Churches of New England*, by John Higginson, who taught school in Hartford in 1638, and preached in Guilford and Salem. When he was eighty-five years old, he joined with William Hubbard, the pastor at Ipswich, in a statement which contains the following sentences:

> We are sensible that there is Risen and Rising among us, a Number who not only forsake the *Right wayes of the Lord*, wherein these holy churches have walked, but also labor to carry away as many others with them as they can. It is too observable, That the *Power of Godliness*, is exceedingly Decaying and Expiring in the Country.

That this is not the gloomy brooding of a depressed old age appears from the fact that in sermons, legislative enactments, records of the courts and of the churches, the decline was generally recognized as widespread and serious. In 1679, a "Reforming Synod" was called by the General Court of Massachusetts, and it pointed out a "great and visible decay of the power of Godliness" in the churches. It specified as evils of the times, neglect of divine worship, disregard of the church sacraments, pride, profanity, Sabbath-breaking, family lawlessness and irreligion, intemperance, licentiousness, covetousness, and untruthfulness.

In the words of Thomas Prince: "A little after 1660, there began to appear Decay, and this increased to 1670, when it grew very visible and threatening and was generally complained of and bewailed bitterly by the pious among them: and yet more to 1680, when but few of the first generation remained." The colonists had passed into a life of strain; religious ties between them and the strong religious life of England were severed by the Restoration; they were no longer the vanguard of a great religious movement.

Their religious life ceased to interest any considerable section of England; left to themselves in the wilderness, their zeal flagged and their moral life fell away. There had been a falling off in the ability and scholarship of the pulpit and the intelligence of laymen; land-grabbing had crowded out self-examination in that vigorous town-planting period, over eighty Connecticut towns being incorporated between 1660, and 1735. To get more land was a fever which dulled the anxiety to checkmate the devil and get to heaven. Political worry, military activity, and heavy taxation made the strain so stern and constant as to interrupt self-investigation and obscure the great White Throne. King Philip's war carried fire and slaughter to many towns. It was hard to grow in grace when the church was transformed into a fortress. Action under James II. to take away the charter, the trying sway of Andros, the French War, expedition to Albany, another to Canada, witchcraft craze, Queen Anne's War, controversies over colonial boundaries, commercial and currency problems and embarrassments, smallpox and diphtheria epidemics, together with a thousand questions arising with the settling of new towns, gave the people enough to think about without spending too much time in morbid duels with their inner corruptions.

There was also much contention in the churches, which went far to paralyze the religious life. Church quarrels were fruitful sources of migrations to form new towns; there were disagreements in Wethersfield which led to the settling of Stamford in 1641, and Hadley in 1659. There was a protracted quarrel in the Hartford church from 1653, to 1659. The union of church and state was the occasion of numberless difficulties, which hindered the religious life. The action of the Half-way Covenant, which will be described later, seriously blighted the spirituality of the times. Religious controversies, which were fought out in the legislature, the courthouse, and the town meeting, with the

jail standing near by as a threat, furnished poor soil for a vital spiritual life. The domineering spirit of the churches, which brooked no disagreement with their vicious conception of the nature and province of the church, helped on the decline. The uncharitable severity with which conscientious dissent on matters of religion was treated chilled the tender plant of piety, and converted churches, distinguished at the start for brotherly love, into refrigerators which the people must attend, or be fined. The people in democratic Connecticut seem to have had an average amount of human nature, and it was not conducive to piety that, despite the reaction against class distinctions in England and Massachusetts, they should have preserved and established the caste system in seating the meeting-house. An illustration of this is found in the fact that in 1698, the townsmen and Goodman Elderkin, the carpenter, were engaged in Norwich to arrange the pews into eight classes, according to their dignity, and then five of the most respected men were directed to seat the people with due regard to rank: "the square pue to be considered first in dignity; the new seats and the fore seats in the broad ally next, and alike in dignity."

In view of all this we do not wonder that Higginson, Hubbard, and others joined in the lament. The Rev. Samuel Mather of Windsor, writing in 1706, says in a pastoral letter to his people:

> It is a time of much Degeneracy . . . In great measure we in this wilderness have *lost our first love*. . . . We do not walk with God as our Fathers did, and hence we are continually from year to year under his *Rebukes* one way or another; and yet alas, we *turn not unto him that smites us:* these considerations call for the utmost of our endeavors, for the reformation of what is amiss amongst us: and for the upholding and *strengthening of what yet remains*, and is perhaps *ready to dy*.

In East Windsor, Rev. Timothy Edwards—father of the famous Jonathan—preached a sermon in May, 1712, on a

topic upon which the ministers of Farmington, Hartford, and Windsor united, namely: "Irreverence in the worship of God, and profanation of his Glorious and fearful Name by Causeless Imprecations and Rash Swearing." In 1714, Samuel Whitman of Farmington preached the election sermon in Hartford before the General Court. In it he said:

> Is not religion declining? Indeed 'tis too evident to be denied, that Religion is on the Wane among us, 'Tis Languishing in all Parts of the Land. . . . Time was when the Ordinances of God were highly-prized; Our Fathers had a high Esteem of them, and laid great Weight on them. . . . But now, the Love of many is grown cold. . . . We are risen up a Generation that have in a great Measure forgot the Errand of our Fathers.

Similar in spirit and substance was the election sermon of Stephen Hosmer of East Haddam in 1720, the title of which was: "A People's Living in Appearance and Dying in Reality." In 1730, William Russell of Middletown spoke in the same vein. He challenged his hearers to consider the undoubted fact of "Vanity, Worldliness, Pride, great Unthoughtfulness of God." He asks:

> And is there not abundance of Unrighteousness & Unmercifulness among us? Injustice in prices, delays and dishonesty in Payments, Deceit, Falseness and Unfaithfulness in Bargains, Contracts and Betrustments, griping Usury, Evading and Baffling the Laws made for the Security of men from that Oppression? a multitude of Law Suits, Men ready to take one another by the Throat?

Similar reports come from the civil rulers, the courts, the jail records, the church records; all bear witness to an unspeakable laxity of morals. The sins were those of intemperance, lying, slander, and licentiousness. Of the last mentioned Jonathan Edwards, preaching to his well-to-do people in Northampton, speaks of certain customs that were

common among the young people, which had been one main thing that had led to the growth of uncleanness in the land. With the increase of drunkenness, profanity, and licentiousness, it is clear that a change had come since 1643, when the author of *New England First Fruits* wrote: "One may live there from year to year, and not see a drunkard, hear an oath, or see a beggar"; and Hugh Peters, in a sermon before Parliament, said in 1646: "I have lived seven years in a country where I never saw a beggar, nor heard an oath, or looked upon a drunkard." There was also a falling away from the early intensity of religious experience as appears in the statements made by candidates for church membership. A less strenuous type was discovered and expected. Formality was on the increase as appears from the fact that baptism was made prominent as a bond to hold people to the church when there was a lack of spiritual life.

There was no falling off in the forms of religion; tithingmen were busy, and constables were earning their fees, arresting the wayward Sabbath-breakers. The people in every town gathered at the meeting-house for long sermons, and, before bells were obtained, the drum called all who could get out of bed to the solemn meetings. The first was beaten at eight o'clock in the tower of the meeting-house and through the streets of the town. When the second drum beat at ten, families went forth from their houses and walked, children following parents to the door, though not allowed to sit with them; the ministers wearing gowns and bands, but not the surplice. There were also meetings during the week. In New Haven the church had a meeting by itself on Tuesday, and on Thursday a lecture open to all, though perhaps not every week.

It may relieve this rather gloomy story to look at a picture of a Sunday meeting in one of the towns on the Connecticut in 1650. It was a small, square structure, clapboarded and wainscoted. The people came together to the beat of the drum, as it was to be seven years before a bell was to hang

in the belfry. See the people coming, mostly on foot, though some from the more distant farms on horseback, the wife on the pillion, behind her husband, with the youngest child in her arms, while the rest followed on foot, young men and maidens according to a law discovered by Darwin two centuries later. At the west end of the meeting-house was the lofty pulpit, in front of which was the seat where the two solemn-faced deacons sat. The people were seated with respect of age, office, and estate. The guard of eight men with muskets at shoulder marched in, and stacking their arms near by, took their seats on either side, and the minister walked up the aisle with stately tread. The meeting began with a prayer lasting a quarter of an hour, then a chapter was read and explained, a psalm announced, and one of the deacons rose and read:

That man is blest that hath not blent,

Getting as near D as he could, he launched on the ocean of song, and the people joined. Then the deacon read the second line:

To wicked reade his eare,

By this time, the people took hold with a will, and when the third line was given, a mighty shout rang through the forest:

Nor led his life as sinners do,

They concluded with:

And eke the way of wicked men
Shall quite be overthrown.

The people sat while the minister turned the hour-glass and announced the text. After the sermon there was a prayer and a blessing, and the people went home to a cold dinner or to the "Sabba day house," or to a neighbor's to replenish foot-stoves and eat luncheon. The afternoon

meeting was like that in the morning, except that after the concluding prayer all children of recent birth were presented for baptism, though zero weather froze the parson's breath. Then one of the deacons rose and said, "Brethren of the congregation, now there is time left for contributions, wherefore as God hath prospered so freely offer." The people went forward with their gifts, then all rose, and another psalm was lined off, and a blessing concluded the meeting.

In passing now to consider the government of the churches, we must bear in mind that the settlers of Connecticut lived in an age in which a sturdy and well-balanced organization was considered indispensable to the life of religion, especially in a new country, to which all kinds of people might come, and those who might infect the new society with dangerous views. Although the settlers had suffered much in England because of the union of church and state, it was too early for even as able and broad-minded men as the pioneers on the Connecticut to rise to the level of what is now a commonplace of civil and religious liberty. The emigrants to the River, and still more distinctly the colonists on the Sound, followed the traditions and practices of the parish system of England, and considered town and church as practically one, settling the affairs of both at the same meeting, which was held usually in the meeting-house, and one meets on the records in one paragraph an appropriation to pay the minister, and in the next a reference to the appointment of pound-keeper.

The first code, that of 1650, required that all persons should be taxed for both church and state, and all rates—for church, school, constable, and fence-viewer—were collected by law. All persons were required to attend Sunday worship under penalty of three shillings, and to go to church on days of public fasting and thanksgiving appointed by the governor, under penalty of five shillings for every instance of neglect. It was enacted: "That no persons within the

colony, shall in any wise embody themselves into church estate, without consent of the General Court, and approbation of neighboring elders." The laws also ordered that no ministry or church service should be entertained or attended by the inhabitants of any plantation distinct and separate from that which was publicly observed by the approved minister of the place, under penalty of five pounds for every violation, and that the civil authority "haue power and liberty to see the peace, ordinances and rules of Christ, observed in every church, according to his word; and also to deal with every church member in a way of civil justice, notwithstanding any church relation, office or interest." So long as the establishment lasted, down to the adoption of the constitution in 1818, the connection with the civil power continued. If a church refused to pay its minister, the legislature settled the proper amount for his maintenance, and enforced the payment. If a church remained without a minister for a year, the legislature could name an amount for ministerial purposes, and compel the town to raise it, according to the time-honored view of the union of church and state: the state the caretaker of the church; the church taking charge of public morals, and furnishing ministers to instruct magistrates. A man who found himself within the territory of a parish was not allowed to vote on purely church matters, unless he was a church member, but he was compelled to pay toward the support of a minister in whose call he had no voice, and to support a church for which perhaps he had no sympathy. In Connecticut, a man did not lose his franchise in civil affairs, though under censure of the church, but in New Haven, as in Massachusetts, loss of church membership cost a man his vote in town affairs.

The Cambridge Platform, adopted by a council in 1648, governed for sixty years. The need of this was due to the feeling that there ought to be uniformity of religious faith and practice. It was seen that some provision ought to be made for outsiders coming into the colonies; the exacting

oversight of the members in the local church had to give way to a system capable of meeting larger needs. When the Cambridge Synod adjourned, it was known that the churches of New England accepted the Westminster Confession "for substance thereof" in matters of faith; but in government there were differing views.

The Cambridge Platform, a law to the churches in the sense that Kent's Commentaries are law in courts of justice, taught that the Congregational Church was not national, but a brotherhood of believers, with pastors, teachers, and ruling elders, who have a certain "power of office," while the people who elected them had "power of privilege." After election, the officers governed as they saw fit. But in case of excommunication, the more liberal policy of Plymouth and Connecticut prevailed, and civil rights were not forfeited. Pastors and teachers were such only by election, and the laying on of the hands of the elders of the church electing them, though elders of other churches could lay on hands "when there were no elders, and the church so desired." Maintenance of the churches was to be collected from all the citizens. Communion between the churches was defined to be for mutual welfare, sisterly advice, commendation of members, succor of the needy, and the propagation of Christianity. Synods or councils, consisting of ministerial and lay delegates, were considered "necessary to the well-being of the churches for the establishment of truth and peace." These might be called by the churches, but, unlike the Presbyterian synods, they were disbanded when their work was done; moreover they were not to "exercise church censure in the way of discipline nor in any other act of authority." Civil magistrates should not meddle with the work of the churches, but see that godliness was upheld, by putting down blasphemy, idolatry, and heresy; by punishing all profaners of the Sabbath, contemners of the ministry, all disturbers of public worship, and to proceed against "schismatic or obstinately corrupt

churches." This platform, known in later years as the *Book of Discipline* of the Congregational Church, defined the principles of this body. In England the Independent churches were strictly what their name implies, but the Cambridge Platform tended to introduce order and unity in the action and influence of the churches. Cotton, Norton, and Hooker saw the importance of giving permanence to a system of mutual supervision. Provision was made for an occasional council or "Synod," to be composed of ministers and laymen from the neighboring churches, with no power to compel any church to take any particular action, but only to advise and admonish. The severest action the Synod could take was to withdraw fellowship from the offending church.

Thus the *Congregational* became the established form of church order. The members of the Cambridge Synod used the term in the preface to their platform. There was a slight leaning toward Presbyterianism in the provision which allowed the ordination of the officers of a church by officers of other churches, "in case where there were no elders and the church so desired." As a last resort the church looked to the civil power for the guarding of peace and purity. "If any church shall grow schismatical, rending itself from the communion of other churches, or shall walk incorrigibly or obstinately in any corrupt way of their own, contrary to the rule of the word, in such case the magistrate is to put forth his coercive power as the matter shall require." Such interference came into play in the famous Hartford quarrel, but without much success.

A well-furnished church had a pastor and a teacher, both of whom preached and administered the ordinances, while the distinctive function of the former was to preach, and that of the latter was to enforce the truth and interpret Scripture. Each church had also one or more ruling elders, who shared with the pastor and teacher the task of discipline; the deacons had charge of the business affairs, and

provided for the poor. The office of pastor was not long discriminated from that of teacher, and the practice of maintaining the two officers soon passed. At the time of the confederation of the New England colonies, there were nearly eighty ruling elders. The occasion of the Hartford quarrel, which began soon after the death of Hooker, was this: Goodwin, the ruling elder, wanted Michael Wigglesworth as Hooker's successor, and Stone, the surviving minister, refused to let the proposition be put to vote. The Goodwin party withdrew from the church, and the Stone party tried to discipline the former; a council of churches failed to reconcile the parties; the General Court intervened, and the angry elements became furious. It was not until 1659, when sixty members removed to Hadley, that peace was restored. In 1663, a keener struggle took place, when the two tactless pastors, Stone and Whiting, led the two wings of the church in a four years' fight over the question of the requirements for membership in the church. In May, 1669, the General Court passed a law permitting the formation of another church in the town. In October, Whiting applied for permission to form the Second Church of Hartford; and when it was formed, the new church adopted the practice of the Half-way Covenant, against which he and his party had been contending for years.

What was the Half-way Covenant? The theory of the New England churches was that their membership should be restricted to those who could give proof of their conversion; and that only such persons and their children might rightly be baptized. There were some in the colony who wished to follow the "parish-way" of the Church of England; these were disposed to receive into the church all persons of good moral character, and baptize their children. Many of the children of the second generation of the settlers could not give a satisfactory account of their religious experience, and consequently their children could not be presented for baptism. Hence many people of exemplary lives had no

standing in the churches, and meager political standing. In February, 1657, a ministerial council was called in Boston to consider the question which was vexing the churches, to see if it might not be wise to widen the door into the church. There was strong opposition to that council, especially at New Haven, but it met, and sustained the new view. It declared that baptized infants could, on arriving at years of discretion, "own the covenant" and become formal church members; that the church was bound to accept them (if they were not of scandalous life and understood the grounds of religion), and was bound to baptize their children, thus continuing the chain of claims to church-membership to all generations. This made membership in the church an affair of morals and formality, and gave great offense at New Haven and among many of the Connecticut people, for it introduced a dual membership, worked against the old Puritan theory of a covenant church, and brought in a national church of mixed membership. In 1662, a Synod met in Boston, in which neither Connecticut nor New Haven was represented, which reaffirmed the crude Half-way Covenant. In 1664, the General Court formally adopted the decision of the council, and commended it to the churches under its jurisdiction, which then included New Haven. It was a political idea, and not all of the churches adopted it. This made the break in the Hartford church, for when Haynes in 1666, undertook to put the Half-way Covenant in practice, Whiting, the senior colleague, forbade him to proceed with the service. Later, the church split into two churches with the Half-way Covenant running merrily in both. In 1668, the legislature, unable to persuade Massachusetts to call a Synod, passed its first Toleration Act, allowing "until a better light in an orderly way doth appeare," that "sundry persons of worth for prudence and piety amongst us . . . may haue allowance of their perswasion and profession in church wayes." Yet there was no release from support of an unacceptable ministry or from

fines for neglect of church-going. Tolerance extended only to differences of opinion within the fold.

The support of religion was voluntary in Connecticut until 1640, and both New Haven and Connecticut adopted the suggestion of the Commissioners of the united colonies on September 5, 1644, "that each man should be required to set down what he would voluntarily give for the support of the Gospel, and that any man who refused should be rated according to his possessions, and was compelled to pay" the sum levied. We have spoken of the action of the legislature in connection with the Hartford quarrels; it was the practice of the General Court from the beginning to consider itself the arbiter of all matters relating to the churches, compelling them to own its authority. As early as 1643, it demanded from the Wethersfield church a list of the grievances that disturbed it. It is not strange that people, brought up under the ecclesiastical system of England, should have taken the course they did, since it was an abiding conviction that the state ought to support one form of religion and only one.

The office of ruling elder was soon given up, partly because of a lack of suitable men to fill the position, and partly because of the arrogance of domineering elders. The office of teacher was also abolished, and the minister held all the power formerly vested in pastor, teacher, and elder, and, retaining the veto power, sometimes became autocratic when he was so disposed and dared. The notion that ministers rode rough-shod over the minds of their people, holding the reins with iron hand, betrays imperfect knowledge. The people had minds of their own as well as the ministers, but for many years there were outlets in new towns for the disaffected, and occasionally a minister colonized with a part of the congregation.

The Half-way Covenant, notwithstanding vigorous opposition, gradually became the general practice. It was not considered as exactly Congregational; the religious

character of Connecticut was thus officially represented in 1676, to the Lords of Trade and Plantations: "Our people are some of them strict Congregational men, others more large Congregational men, and some moderate Presbyterians." As time passed and the new leaven spread, strict Congregationalists decreased. "A church without a bishop, and a state without a king," was still the theory; but the General Court saw that something better than its meddling was needed to keep the churches in peace, and in 1708, it issued an edict to each of the forty-one churches to send pastor and delegate to a synod to convene at Saybrook, to draw up a church system for the commonwealth; sixteen men, twelve of them ministers, obeyed the summons. The Synod met in September, adopted the Savoy Confession, and formed the Saybrook Platform as the church system, commending an explicit covenant of communion between the churches, called Consociation—a permanent organization—consisting of minister and a delegate from the churches "planted in a convenient vicinity." It proposed that each church should enter into the confederation, consenting to certain principles and rules of intercourse; that a church or a person should have the right to bring disputes before the consociation; that a pastor or church refusing to be bound by the decision of the consociation should be put out of the communion; and that there should be an annual meeting of delegates from all the consociations. The "Heads of Agreement" assented to by the Saybrook Synod with its membership of twelve ministers and four laymen was an English platform, and formed a compromise with the Presbyterian theory. The legislature at once ratified the Saybrook Platform, coolly affirming that it had been presented as "unanimously agreed and consented to by the elders and churches," as if the action of that little conclave of less than a third of the ministers and four laymen could be regarded as "the elders and churches." Churches united by this platform were "owned and acknowledged

established by law." All were taxed for the support of the established, that is the Congregational, churches. It was a modified Presbyterianism, without coercive power, except as the provision for the ministers' support, and the withdrawal of it from refractory members, formed a stern compulsion. After a time the terms *Congregational* and *Presbyterian* were interchangeable. The General Association of 1805, affirmed that "The Saybrook Platform is the Constitution of the Presbyterian Church of Connecticut." In accordance with the form of government outlined in the platform, the churches were formed into five consociations; one each in New Haven, New London, and Fairfield counties, and two in Hartford County, and the ministers were formed into five associations, to provide ministerial standing and oversight for one another. This system was definitely imposed upon the churches by excluding from the benefits of the previous establishment every church that should decline conformity. All churches of the earlier, Congregational way were disowned.

How was the new religious constitution received? Trumbull says that it "met with a general reception, though some of the churches were extremely opposed to it." There were decided differences of opinion concerning its application. The local independence of the churches was sacrificed, but it tended to bring the churches into a closer union with one another, and to prepare for the perils and struggles, the trials and conquests that were before the people. While the system after a time developed into a barren and rigid formalism in many quarters, with evil results upon morals; while it exalted the eldership and pastoral power; while it replaced the sympathetic help and friendliness of neighboring churches with organized associations and the authority of councils, it was valuable in many ways in the new towns. It made strenuous efforts to stay the tendency toward barbarism during Indian, French, and Spanish wars. It encouraged catechising of the children, and reformation of

morals. It lessened the excesses of the Great Awakening, and anodyned some of the bitter controversies and movements toward Deism and infidelity. There were church quarrels enough under the new system, some of them lasting for ten or fifteen years, but this "permanent establishment," in which church and state were bound together more securely than before, in which the legislature turned over to the "government within a government" the whole control of the religious life of the colony, and endowed it with church courts, may have been the best possible device to tide the churches over trying times.

In a day and generation when men were convinced that religious uniformity was necessary to civil order, it is significant that the General Assembly, in the act of establishing the Saybrook Platform, should have added a proviso—"that nothing herein shall be intended or construed to hinder or prevent any Society or Church that is or shall be allowed by the laws of this government, who soberly differ or dissent from the United Churches hereby established from exercising worship and discipline in their own way, according to their conscience." This liberal clause was a shrewd endeavor to win to the platform the minority who clung to the earlier faith, and it also covered dissenters, though no rival church was desired in Connecticut. The Toleration Act had largely in view also the favor of the king who might disturb the charter if the government here were unfair toward any religious sects. Four classes, Quakers, Episcopalians, Baptists and Rogerines, were much in evidence. The treatment of the Quakers is often spoken of as a brilliant example of intolerance. The colonists made it uncomfortable for the members of this aggressive sect, not by hanging, as in Massachusetts, but by branding whipping and fining; and very likely they would have hanged them if necessary to be rid of them, for it was too early to understand religious freedom. Having come to establish a state after their own ideas, they proposed to defend it

against all invaders, and the Quakers were invaders who came from the old world for the declared purpose of disturbance and overthrow, publishing principles aiming at the foundations of religion and society as the Puritans understood those priceless boons. The Quakers reviled the faith and worship which the settlers had endured all kinds of hardships to enjoy, outraging the religious rights and freedom of the people. Deborah Wilson, a Quaker preacher, went through the streets of Salem, undecorated even with fig leaves, and in similar plight women sometimes went into public religious assemblies, to show the nakedness of the people's sins. In view of the dread the sect awakened, the New England commissioners in September, 1656, advised the colonies to take measures against the Quakers, and Connecticut complied, so far as to direct that any town that harbored them should be fined; but the execution of the penalties was to be left to the discretion of the magistrates, a discretion which seems to have been exercised with so much judgment that, despairing of martyrdom, Quakers gave Connecticut a wide berth. New Haven took up the matter with more zeal, and court trials increased offenders, who indignantly assailed the methods and manners of the government on the Sound.

It is not within the province of as sturdy human nature as that which settled New Haven as a theocracy to endure men who would abolish all distinction between clergy and laity; refusing to pay tithes, render military service, take the oath of allegiance, or yield the doctrine of the *Inward Light.* Humphrey Norton was whipped, burned in the hand with the letter H for heretic, and banished, and others were carried back to Rhode Island. Less vehement was the treatment in Hartford of John Rous and John Copeland, traveling preachers, who reached the city in 1658, and being allowed to hold a discussion in the presence of the governor and magistrates, they were told at the close that the laws of the colony forbade their remaining in it, and that

they would better continue their journey to Rhode Island. They did so, and Rous testified in behalf of Connecticut that "among all the colonies, found we not like moderation as this; most of the magistrates being more noble than those of the others." In 1676, when the constables broke up a Friends' meeting in New London, the leader of the Quakers says that "the sober people were offended because of the attack," and on the following Sunday at Hartford, he was allowed to speak unhindered after the morning meeting. In 1705, the queen was persuaded by William Penn to annul the Connecticut law of 1657, against "Heretics, Infidels and Quakers," and in 1729, influenced by the action of English law, the General Assembly released the Quakers from paying taxes to support the established churches, provided that they could show a certificate vouching for their support of their own meetings and presence there. Connecticut shared with Massachusetts in dislike for the Baptists, and in 1704, refused them permission to incorporate church estate. While paying secular taxes cheerfully, the Baptists endured flogging, fines, and imprisonment rather than pay the church tax. The oppressive measures against them ceased on the inauguration of Governor Talcott, at which time the Toleration Act gave them some freedom, and in 1729, the legislature extended to the Baptists the measure of freedom which had been granted to Quakers.

The year 1702, marked the beginning of a definite movement in behalf of an American Episcopate. The prosperous and contented colony attracted settlers, so that the population trebled about every twenty years. With the newcomers, there appeared in the latter part of the seventeenth century members of the Church of England, who settled in Stratford and other towns near New York. To their surprise, Connecticut would not tolerate their services. Complaint was made in England in 1702; John Talbot and George Keith, missionary priests of the Church of England, reported to the Bishop of London, and lodged complaint

of oppression of dissenters from the Congregational Church. Talbot's appeal for an American Episcopate found a response in a strong party in the English Church, which had formed in 1701, the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, to which belonged all the English bishops. In 1705, fourteen clergymen from the middle colonies framed a petition to the English archbishop and bishops for a bishop in America, referring to the "inconveniences which the church labors under by the influence which seditious men's counsels have." Until 1709, there was little persecution beyond that of the tongue. When they were not allowed to organize churches, and were forced to pay taxes to support Congregationalism, friends in England heard some emphatic protests from churchmen here. It was an anxious time in Connecticut, which had not forgotten Laud's purpose in 1638, to appoint a bishop over New England.

The enemies of this commonwealth were scheming to consolidate the New England colonies under a royal governor. Bills to that end were introduced into Parliament in 1701, and in 1706; in the latter year John Talbot pleaded in England for an American bishop, voicing the importunity of Connecticut Episcopalians for relief from taxation for the Congregational order. Frightened by the discontent, and the stormy looks of English friends of the rising body, the General Assembly in 1708, added a proviso to the Saybrook Platform, by which dissenters could qualify before county courts for organization into distinct bodies by taking oath of fidelity to the crown, denying transubstantiation, and by declaring their sober dissent from Congregationalism; provided that it worked no detriment to the established church. It would be for a man's pecuniary advantage to stay in the state church, otherwise he would be doubly taxed. At a time when money was scarce, double taxation was like prohibition, yet the meager Toleration Act was regarded as a measure of dangerous liberality. In 1709,

fines and imprisonments began in earnest and persecution continued for forty years. Episcopalians could not build, and they would not attend Congregational worship, and magistrates, refusing to recognize the services held in private houses, fined them for absence from public worship. This treatment ceased when it was learned that a report of the court proceedings would be sent to England. In 1707, an Episcopal church was organized at Stratford, with thirty communicants; in 1718, it had increased to one hundred baptized persons, thirty-six communicants, and a congregation of more than two hundred people, ministered to by traveling missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and by a missionary priest, Rev. George Pigott, under whom, in 1722, Timothy Cutler, the eloquent Rector of Yale College, and six of his associates declared their dissatisfaction with Congregationalism, or, as they called it, the *Presbyterianism* of the Connecticut established church. Cutler and three other ministers went to England for ordination, and fear seized the Congregationalists lest Episcopacy become established here as in England; hope cheered the churchmen in view of the "glorious revolution." Classes in Yale from 1723, to 1733, gave many of their members to Episcopacy. Agitation for exemption from support of Congregationalism, and fines for neglecting its worship, continued. In 1727, the General Assembly passed a law ordering that in a town where there was a Church of England, the taxes of such as declared themselves as attending said church were to be paid to it. There was more or less of haggling and petty persecution together with ostracism of churchmen, and attempts to defraud Episcopalians of money from sale of public lands. Trying as were these experiences, their own writers admit that at that period the churchmen in Connecticut suffered less than in New York and the southern colonies; the effort for an Apostolic Episcopate did not cease until it culminated, in 1784, in the consecration of Samuel Seabury as bishop

of Connecticut. In less than twenty years from the passage of the Toleration Act, Baptists and Quakers had challenged the Establishment and obtained concessions which prepared for a larger liberty later on.

The Rogerines, a species of Quakers, began to make trouble about 1720, near New London. They were the followers of John Rogers, and since their business was to destroy priestcraft they began by trying to break up the Sunday meetings. They would go in small bands to the churches, carrying their knitting, sewing, hatcheling, and joinering, and by hammering, singing, and shouting try to drown the voice of the speaker. Rogers beset the mild and gentle Dr. Lord on his way to church, and followed him, shouting against priestcraft, and just as the minister reached the porch of the meeting-house, and taking off his hat displayed a white wig, Rogers exclaimed in a loud voice, "Benjamin! Benjamin! dost thou think that they wear white wigs in heaven?" Benjamin would have been just as saintly had he asked in reply, "John! John! dost thou think there will be revilers in heaven?" Some of them were fined for traveling on Sunday, and in July, 1726, six of them were arrested at Norwich for this offense, and were committed to prison. When taken before Justice Backus, they were sentenced to pay twenty shillings apiece, or to be whipped ten or fifteen lashes; not being able to pay the fine they were taken to the plain and whipped with privet. One of them had warm tar poured upon his head, and his hat put on, for refusing to remove his hat in court. The prosecutions and persecutions went on for a few years, John Rogers claiming that he was sentenced at one time without benefit of jury and at another that his son's cattle were seized to pay the father's fines.

We have noticed that at first the support of ministers was by voluntary contributions, a method which worked well, while devotion to religion flamed. It was the custom, for example, in Norwich for the people to carry their pro-

portion of wheat, rye, peas, and Indian corn on or before March 20, but it became necessary even in Norwich, trained as it was by the reverend James Fitch, to appoint collectors, which was done in 1686, and monthly contributions were sometimes taken to make up deficiencies. We have spoken of the code of 1650, as requiring all persons to bear their share, and soon it was the custom to lay a tax of from one penny to threepence in the pound "for the encouragement of the ministry," but, in 1677, the matter was transferred to the town, and made a part of the town finances, and at that time a regular salary was proposed. There was a custom which tended toward the permanence of the pastorate, and that was the habit of laying a special tax when a minister was installed over a church; a sum equal to the salary of two years was paid him "for settlement," as it was called, and with the amount he bought land, built a house and barn, and thus made a home, which he was supposed to occupy until death. It was expensive to settle a minister, and there was more than one reason why churches were reluctant to change. The permanence of the pastorate, together with the fact that the minister was usually the best educated man in the community, tended to give him a prominent place in the life of a town.

In this review of the religious life of the early years we have seen how the earlier seriousness passed into indifference or worse, and the heavy hand of the magistrate was enlisted to keep the people faithful to the churches; that while the Half-way Covenant was considered an adroit way out of a serious difficulty, it tended toward weakness: diminishing the conviction of need of a spiritual life; calling into a quasi-membership in the churches many who made no pretensions to such a life—men in formal covenant with a church, and careful to have their children baptized, yet caring little for the church as an institution of religion. We have glanced at some of the causes of decline in the religious life of the people toward the close of the seventeenth century,

and have seen a growth in toleration toward religious people of different views from the established Congregationalists—a progress real, though largely brought about by pressure from England—but it is pleasant to close the chapter with the note of a broader charity and a more tolerant spirit.

CHAPTER X

WITCHCRAFT

IT is a melancholy passage from the religious life of the early years, depressing as are some of the phases of it, to the delirium of witchcraft: the morbid and often cruel notions prevailing concerning the unseen world. Would that the settlers might have risen above the pitiful slough of belief in the possession of demons! But it was the seventeenth century, and the delusion, which is as old as the race, prevailed in Europe for hundreds of years, that Satan and his associates were exploiting the world, as the sworn enemies of God and the churches. The fundamental authority for all legislation on the subject was Exodus xxii., 18, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live," and since the Bible was reverenced as authoritative in every part, there was but one thing to do. From its earliest history, the church looked on witchcraft as a deadly sin, and disbelief in it as a heresy, and no better definition of it as a popular delusion can be found than the one set forth in the New England indictment, "Interteining familiarity with Satan, the enemy of mankind, and by his help doing works above the course of nature." Compacts with Satan were regarded as common for centuries, and the destruction of those who made them was regarded as the plainest duty. For three hundred years, the flames were hot and fierce in Europe, spreading slowly from the continent to England and Scotland.

Coke, Bacon, Hale, and even Blackstone, were infected.

It was a misdemeanor at English common law, and made a felony without benefit of clergy in the reign of Henry VIII. and of Elizabeth. In 1603, at the accession of James I., a new law was enacted with an exact definition, which was in force for a century. Its main provision was this:

> If any person or persons use, practice or exercise any invocation of any wicked spirit, or consult, entertain, employ or reward any wicked spirit for any purpose, or take up any dead man, woman or child out of their grave, or the skin, bone or any part of any dead person, to be used in any manner of witchcraft, sorcery, charm or enchantment, or shall use, practice or exercise any witchcraft, charm or sorcery, whereby any person shall be killed, destroyed, wasted, consumed, pined or lamed in his or her body: every such offender is a felon, without benefit of clergy.

Under this law witchcraft increased, and persecutions multiplied, especially under the Commonwealth, and notably in the eastern counties of England,—rich source of emigrants to America. It is estimated that more than one hundred thousand persons were put to death in Europe during the three centuries in which the delusion prevailed. Possessed with such notions, the General Court, in 1642, ordered that "If any man or woman be a witch, that is, hath, or consulted with, a familiar spirit—they shall be put to death." New Haven had a similar law, and persons suspected of witchcraft were tried, condemned, and executed, without any question of the justice of such proceedings. The Salem witchcraft raged from March to September, 1692, and nineteen persons were hanged, one man pressed to death and fifty-five suffered torture, but it was forty-five years before the Salem tragedy that the Land of Steady Habits entered the campaign against the poor, unfortunate creatures.

The first victim was Alse Young of Windsor, who was hanged in Hartford, on May 26, 1647, according to the diary of Matthew Grant, the town clerk of Windsor. In the following year, Mary Johnson of Wethersfield was arrested

and a "Bill of Inditement" was framed against her of "familiarity with the Deuill," and chiefly on her own confession she was found guilty and executed, and the prison-keeper's charges being allowed by the Court, were ordered paid "out of her estate." A pathetic incident attaches to the case, as a child "was borne in the prison to her." Mather says in his *Magnalia*, "She dyd in a frame extreamly to the satisfaction of them that were spectators of it."

On February 20, 1651, an indictment was found against a Wethersfield carpenter named John Carrington and his wife for having "Interteined familiarity with Sathan, the Greate Enemye of God and Mankinde," and for accomplishing works past human power. They were hanged on March 19, 1653.

One of the most pathetic cases was that of Goodwife Knap of Fairfield, a woman, who, so far as we can now judge, was very different from some of the others who were arraigned; "simple-minded," Schenck calls her in his history of Fairfield, but gossip and scandal got after the poor creature and she was committed to the jail, the cold and gloomy prison of logs, with a single barred window and massive door, in charge of a harsh jailer. On the day of her condemnation, a self-constituted committee of one man and four women visited the jail and pressed the victim to name any other witch in town, and after they had baited, threatened, and badgered her to their hearts' content, in the agony of her soul she cried out to her relentless persecutors, "Never, never poore creature was tempted as I am tempted, pray, pray for me."

The cases of 1662, were the nearest approach made in Connecticut to the Salem cases of thirty years later. Seven cases were indicted, of whom two were executed, and probably a third. This epidemic began with the eight-year-old girl of John Kelley, who in the spring of 1662, cried out in the delirium of illness against Mrs. William Ayres, who saw in the cry a death-warrant and fled. Soon afterward,

Ann Cole, a religious melancholiac, tormented with doubts about her religious welfare, had fits of derangement in which she talked for hours about a company of evil spirits taking counsel to ruin her. Others caught the contagion, and Ann and two others had attacks in church. A special day of prayer was held for them, on which the demonic exhibition was so effective that one of the company fainted at the sight. Ann Cole denounced Mrs. Richard Seager as a witch. The accused said the charge was a "hodge-podge," but she barely escaped with her life, being indicted three times. On July 16, 1665, Mrs. Seager was convicted and lodged in prison for a year, then removed to Rhode Island, that refuge of the oppressed. Later, Ann Cole recovered control of her nerves and also acquired a surplus, for she married Andrew Benton, a widower with eight children.

An average sample of the people implicated in this debauch of superstition, ignorance, and disordered nerves was Nathanael Greensmith, who lived in Hartford, next to the Coles' on the first lot on the present Wethersfield Avenue. He was a well-to-do farmer, occasionally convicted of thefts, assault, and lying. His wife Rebecca was described by Rev. John Whiting as a "lewd, ignorant, and considerably aged woman." Rebecca Greensmith had a genius for confessions of everything alleged by the witch-hunters. She had evidently fed her degenerate mind with all sorts of rubbish from the witch lore, was prompt to admit all kinds of misdemeanors, and accused every one within reach, even her husband. Gossip and rumor about these unpopular neighbors culminated in a formal complaint, and December 30, 1662, at a Court held in Hartford, both the Greensmiths were separately indicted in the same charge, which ran as follows:

Nathanael Greensmith, thou art indicted by the name of Nathanael Greensmith, for not having the fear of God before thine eyes, thou hast entertained familiarity with Satan, the

grand enemy of God and mankind—and by his help has acted things in a preternatural way beyond human abilities in a natural course, for which, according to the law of God and the established law of this commonwealth, thou deservest to die.

The extent to which the delusion went is suggested in the account given by two ministers, Haynes and Whiting, who interviewed Goody Greensmith while she was in prison, and wrote out the confession which Increase Mather regarded as convictive a proof of real witchcraft as most cases he had known.

"She forthwith and freely confessed those things to be true, that she had familiarity with the devil. The devil told her that at Christmas they would have a merry meeting, and then the covenant would be drawn up and subscribed." This made a decided impression on the learned Rev. Samuel Stone, who was in the Court, and he laid forth with weight and earnestness the dreadful sin Rebecca had committed, and solemnly took notice that the devil loved Christmas! She said that the devil first appeared to her in the form of a deer or fawn, skipping about her; some of the company came in one shape and some in another; one flying as a crow. One of the reasons why Rebecca was convinced that her husband had help from the devil was, as she testified in the court, "I have seen logs that my husband hath brought home in his cart that I wondered at it that he could get them into the cart being a man of little body, and ye logs were such that I thought two men such as he could not have done it." The Greensmiths were convicted and sentenced to suffer death, and in January, 1662, they were hanged on "Gallows Hill," on the bluff a little north of where Trinity College now stands; an excellent place for the crowd in the meadows to the west to witness a popular form of entertainment.

Two days before the last confession of Goody Greensmith, Mary Barnes of Farmington was indicted for witch-

craft and found guilty by the jury. The only further note of her fate is a bill for "keep" in prison; and as it was for about the same length of time as the Greensmiths, she was probably executed like them. In May, 1669, occurred the most remarkable case in the colony, when Katheran Harrison, one of the richest people in Wethersfield, was indicted for witchcraft at the Court of Assistants in Hartford, presided over by Deputy Governor John Mason, and the suspected woman was committed to the common jail until the trial. On May 25, at a court presided over by Governor John Winthrop, Jr., with Deputy Governor William Leete, Major Mason, and others as assistants, the indictment was as follows:

> Katheran Harrison, thou standest here indicted by ye name of Katheran Harrison (of Wethersfield) as being guilty of witchcraft, for that thou not haueing the fear of God before thine eyes hast had familiaritie with Sathan, the grand enemie of god and mankind, and by his help hast acted things beyond and beside the ordinary course of nature, and hast thereby hurt the bodyes of divers of the subjects of our souraigne Lord and King, of which by the law of god and of this corporation thou oughtest to dye.

Katheran pleaded not guilty and "refered herself to a tryall by the jury present." A partial trial was held in May, but the jury could not agree, and the court adjourned to October, while Mrs. Harrison went to jail.

Here are samples of the miserable drivel to which Winthrop, Mason, Treat, and Leete listened. Thomas Bracy testified that he was at the house of Hugh Wells, over against the Harrison house, making a jacket and pair of breeches, when he fell into unaccountable blunders, and looking out he saw a cart loaded with hay approaching the Harrison barn, and on the top of the hay a "red calves head, the eares standing peart up," and keeping his eyes on the cart till it came to the barn, the calf vanished. Then

he said he suspected Katheran Harrison of witchcraft, and once while in bed he saw Mrs. Harrison and James Wakely at his bedside consulting to kill him; Wakely wanted to cut his throat, but Katheran wished to strangle him. Presently Katheran seized him and pulled or pinched him so that it seemed as though she would pull the flesh from his bones, and he groaned. His father heard him and spoke, and he stopped groaning; then Katheran "fell again to afflictinge and pinching," at which repeated groans brought his father and mother to the bedside, and James and Katheran went to "the beds feete." The next day appeared marks of the pinching. Joane Francis said that four years before, on the night her child was taken ill, Goodwife Harrison or her shape appeared, and Joane said, "The Lord bless me and my child, here is Goody Harrison." Three weeks later the child died. The widow of Jacob Johnson said that her husband was lying in bed in Windsor, when he had "a great box on the head, and after he came home he was ill, and Goodwife Harrison did help him with diet, drink and plasters," then she sent for Captain Atwood to help, and that night, "to the best of my apprehension, I saw the likeness of Goodwife Harrison with her face toward my husband, and I turned about to lock the door, and she vanisht away. Then my husband's nose fell a bleeding in an extraordinary manner, and so continued (if it were not meddled with) to his dying day." Mary Hale testified that while lying in bed she saw an ugly dog with the head of Katheran Harrison instead of its own, and it walked over her and crushed her; then came a sharp blow on the fingers. On another night she heard the voice of a woman who said she had a commission to kill her, and she knew it was the voice of Katheran Harrison. Elizabeth Smith gave some neighborly gossip, saying that Katheran was a "great or notorious liar, a Sabbath breaker and one that told fortunes"; that she never knew any one else who could spin such yarns as she.

On such *testimony* as this the jury returned a verdict of guilty. But the magistrates doubted about receiving the verdict, and took counsel of the ministers, who rendered a cautious response to the four questions asked of them in a paper in the handwriting of Rev. Gershom Bulkley of Wethersfield, in which it was declared that the communication of things that cannot be known by human skill or strength of reason, "in the way of divination seemes to us to argue familiarity with ye devill, in as much as such a person doth thereby declare his receiving the devills testimony, & yeeld up himselfe as ye devills instrument to communicate the same to others."

Meanwhile Katheran was not idle. She addressed a petition to the court, setting forth her sufferings in person and estate. We are not surprised that in her sense of wrong she should have told Michael Griswold that he would hang her, though he damned a thousand souls, and as for his own soul it was damned long ago. For this Michael brought two suits for slander, and Katheran was adjudged to pay him twenty-five pounds and costs in one case, and fifteen pounds and costs in the other. On May 20, 1670, the General Assembly refused to concur with the court in its verdict, sentencing Mrs. Harrison to death, and dismissed her from a year's imprisonment, on condition that she pay the costs of the trial, and remove from Wethersfield, "which is that will tend most to her own safety, and the contentment of the people who are her neighbors." She went to Westchester, N. Y., but the stories followed her, and the people there tried to send her back. After three years of harrying, an accusation before the Dutch governor failed, and she was released, and told she could live where she pleased.

At the time of the Salem craze in 1692, one spot in Connecticut suffered deeply; that bloodshed did not attend it was due to the broadening of mind which had begun to appear. A special court was held in Fairfield, the storm center, in September, 1692, including Governor Treat,

Deputy Governor William Jones, and Secretary John Allyn—and a grand and petty jury. To prepare evidence, the townspeople had put two suspects to the water ordeal; both "swam like a cork," though the crowd tried to push one of them under. Four women were indicted, and two hundred witnesses examined. The distinguished court listened for days to gossipy stories about roaring calves, mired cows, creases in the kettle, frisky oxen, unbewitching sick children, optical illusions, and mesmeric influence. The jury disagreed, and the court met again on October 28, for the final decision. A committee of women examined the prisoners' bodies for witch-marks. The jury acquitted all except Mercy Disborough, who was convicted. The governor pronounced the death sentence; but a memorial for her pardon was drawn up, and since she was living fifteen years afterward, we know that the poor creature escaped the gallows. An indictment in 1697, closed the Connecticut witchcraft persecutions, when a woman and her daughter of twelve years were indicted for "misteriously hurting the Bodies and Goods" of several people. They were searched for witch-teats, subjected to the water ordeal, and excommunicated from the church; what became of them we do not know, except that they fled to New York for their lives. The number of executions in Connecticut is believed to be nine and possibly eleven. Three other convictions were found, but the court set aside the verdicts.

We are ashamed of this dreary story of gossipy, half crazy, superstitious people, and our meager consolation is a remark of Hutchinson, late in the eighteenth century, that "more have been put to death in a single county in England in a short space of time, than have suffered in all New England from the first settlement to this time." New Haven escaped bloodshed by having judge instead of jury trial, and that judge, the sensible and considerate Theophilus Eaton.

In the main, the suspects were apt to be cranky and

unbalanced people, whose neighbors became social police to rid the community of trying characters. That only ten lost their lives in Connecticut during this craze is a tribute to the common sense of the Connecticut lawyers and ministers, in an age when the people gave the devil so conspicuous and dignified an agency in the affairs of life that they were inclined to confess his presence at all times; and when an authority like Blackstone could write in a century after the witchcraft craze, "To deny the possibility, nay actual evidence of Witchcraft and sorcery, is at once to flatly contradict the revealed word of God in various passages both of the Old and New Testaments."

CHAPTER XI

SLAVERY

ONE of the curious inconsistencies of the Puritan emigration is that for generations there were slaves in Connecticut. Abhorring as they did religious and political slavery, the people did not object to family slavery so long as it paid. Sagacious and heavenly-minded as were John Davenport and Edward Hopkins, they were not averse to keeping slaves, and the tradition is that the Rev. Ezra Stiles, later on president of Yale College, and a vigorous advocate of emancipation, sent a barrel of rum to Africa to be exchanged for a negro slave. The justification ran in this fashion, "It is a great privilege for the poor negroes to be taken from the ignorant and wicked people of Guiana and placed in a Christian land, where they can become good Christians and go to heaven when they die." The caste system was marked in the colony, and superiors, equals, and inferiors were recognized in church, prayer, and social life; there being no more question about the rightfulness of keeping slaves than of owning cows or chickens.

From 1639, when the records say there was a boy in Hartford from Dutch Guiana, slavery prevailed for two hundred years. The Pequot war furnished the first slaves, and the money paid for them helped meet the expenses of the war. Few individual men owned many of these humble workers, and the largest owner was Godfrey Malborne of

Brooklyn, who had fifty or sixty slaves on his large estate. In the early part of the eighteenth century, a slave sold for from sixty shillings to twenty-five pounds; later, the price rose to one hundred pounds for choice goods. In 1756, there were in Connecticut three thousand six hundred and thirty-six slaves, one to every thirty-five of the whites. In 1774, the number had doubled, giving a slave to every twenty-nine of the whites, while in 1800, there were four thousand three hundred and thirty slaves, or one in fifty-nine of the freemen.

Reference has been made to Guiana as the source of slaves, and the question how they came to Connecticut is interesting in its bearing upon the traffic of those days, and the zeal of a Yankee when he could see some money alluring him. Soon after the settlement there sprang up a trade with the West Indies, and some of the vessels, after leaving their cargoes, went to Africa and gathered a load of negroes for the southern market. Of the twenty-two sea captains of Middletown before the Revolution, three were in the slave trade, Captains Walker, Gleason, and Easton. The last named was one of the most successful slave-dealers of his time; he would take droves of negroes to New Hampshire and Vermont, when the market was dull in Connecticut, and exchange them for horses. In 1804, a vessel from Hartford carried two hundred and fifty negroes to Charleston, S. C., and captains from New Haven and New London were engaged in the traffic.

It was a family institution and the slaves seem to have been treated fairly well. Tapping Reeve, the head of the famous Litchfield Law School, says that

> the master had no control over the life of his slave. If he killed him he was liable to the same punishment as if he killed a freeman. A slave was capable of holding property in the character of a devisee or legatee. If a slave married a free woman with the consent of his master, he was emancipated; for his master had suffered him to contract a relation inconsistent with a state of slavery.

Owners were required to support slaves; it was voted by the Assembly in 1702, that if a slave gained his liberty, and afterwards came to want, he should be relieved at the cost of the person in whose service he was last retained, and by whom set at liberty, or at the cost of his heirs. General Putnam freed his body-servant Dick and bought a farm for his Indian servant. Deacon Gray of Windham kept his old negroes in a cabin, where he supplied them with food. It appears that the law of 1702, to insure the care of freed slaves, was evaded, for, in 1711, a further act was passed, applying to all "negro, malatto, or Spanish Indians . . . servants . . . for time," who come to want after the expiration of the term of service. The provision was that in case those responsible refused to care for them, the sufferers should be relieved by the selectmen of the towns to which they belonged, who might "recover of the said owners or masters, or their heirs, executors or administrators, all the charge and cost they were at for such relief, as in the case of other debts." In 1777, the law was modified. A man wishing to emancipate his slave could apply to the selectmen, who were required to investigate the case. If they decided that it was for the best interests of the slave that he should be liberated, and that he would probably be self-supporting, and that he was of "good and peaceable life and conversation," they were empowered to give to the master a certificate stating their decision, and allowing him to free his slave without any obligation to support him.

By an act of 1792, permission might be granted by two of the civil officers who were not selectmen, or by one of them and two selectmen, to liberate a slave who was not less than twenty-five or more than forty-five years old, who was in good health, and who, they were satisfied from personal examination, wished his freedom. If after examination the certificate was granted and recorded in the town records, together with the letter of emancipation, the master's responsibility ceased. A strict fugitive slave law was

passed in 1690, and, in 1702, it was ordered that no slave could travel without a pass from his master or the town authorities, and any one assisting a runaway was liable to a fine of twenty shillings. In 1774, there appeared in the Connecticut *Gazette* the following advertisement:

TEN DOLLARS REWARD. Run away from the subscriber in Canterbury, a Mulatto slave. He is a slender built fellow, has thick Lips, a curled mulatto Head of Hair uncut, and goes stooping forward. He had on & carried with him when he eloped from his Master a half worn felt Hat, a black and white tow shirt, a dark brown Jacket, with slieves cuffed & Pewter Buttons down before, a Butter Nut colored Great Coat with Pewter Buttons, a Pair of striped long Trowsers, & a pair of white Ditto, a pair of White Tow Stockings; & a pair of single channel Pumps. Whoever will take up said Slave and deliver him to the Subscriber in Canterbury shall have the above Reward, and all necessary Charges paid by me, Daniel Tyler, Canterbury, June 27, 1774.

In the preamble of an act passed in 1708, it was stated that negroes and mulattoes had become numerous in parts of the colony and were turbulent and quarrelsome. Any such person as struck a white man was subject to a flogging of not more than thirty stripes. In 1717, New London voted to oppose a negro "buying land in town or being an inhabitant," and instructed its representatives to the legislature to "take some prudent care that no person of color may ever have any personal or freehold estate within the government," and that same year the legislature passed a bill prohibiting negroes "purchasing land without liberty from the town, and also from being in families of their own without such liberty." When the Revolution came on it was found convenient to allow negroes to become food for bullets, and, in 1777, an act passed providing that slaves of "good life and conversation," when adjudged by the selectmen to be suitable for the army, were to be put

into the service, and many slaves went to war, and in the stress of the conflict it came to pass that "neither the selectmen nor the commanding officers questioned the color; white and black, bond and free, if able-bodied, went into the roll together, accepted as the representatives or substitutes of their employers." Many slaves were promised their freedom on condition that they would serve three years in the army, and many displayed superior bravery when death was near; a negro named Lambert at Fort Griswold in 1781, slew the British officer who so savagely murdered Colonel Ledyard and fell, "pierced by thirty-three bayonet wounds."

We read of balls given by negroes, and they were allowed to elect a governor from their number, and to inaugurate him with ceremonies which gratified their desire for display. They chose a man of dignified presence, firmness, and ready tongue, and he settled disputes, imposed fines, punished gross and immoral conduct, and acted as supreme arbiter among his people, displaying every evidence of authority, even to a claim of descent from a line of African kings, being usually reëlected until health failed. On inauguration day the whole black population turned out in an "Election Parade," in which borrowed horses, saddles, and gay trappings made a brilliant display, and fantastic garbs, boisterous shouting, laughing, and singing, with fiddles, drums, fifes, and brass horns filled the air with a noise which the blacks called "martial music."

It was amusing to see the black governor, sham dignity, after his election, riding through the town on one of his master's horses, adorned with plated gear. An aide rode on either side, and his majesty, puffing and swelling with pride, sat bolt upright, moving with a slow, measured pace, as though the universe were looking on. When he mounted or dismounted, an aide flew to his assistance, holding his bridle, putting his feet into the stirrups, and bowing to the ground before him. The great Mogul, in a triumphal procession, never assumed an air of more perfect self-importance than did the negro governor at such a time.

After the parade there was a feast, which often ended with a drunken riot. The ceremonies took place in Hartford, until 1800, when they were removed to Derby. The early notices sent to the blacks in different places in the commonwealth read "negro men"; later the reading was "negro gentlemen"; but the grotesque display, the ridiculous antics, and the brass horns figured just the same. The first record of a black governor is that of Governor Cuff, who resigned in 1766, in favor of John Anderson.

The coarse and brutal side of this slavery is suggested by the following advertisement which appeared in the New London *Gazette* in October, 1766: "To be sold, a strong and healthy negro man, 29 years of age, and brought up in the country to the farming business. Also an able-body'd wench, 16 years old (with sucking child), can do all sorts of housework . . . for no other fault but her breeding. Enquire of printer." As the consciences of the people became more alert to evils in the social conditions, slavery came in for its share of criticism, and for many years there was an increasing sentiment against it, and a movement toward its downfall. Sermons were preached against it before the Revolution, and Samuel Hopkins wrote a dialogue on the duty of freeing slaves. Jonathan Edwards, Jr., proclaimed the "Injustice and Impolicy of the Slave Trade," and, aside from the injustice of the practice urged in pulpit and by pamphlets, there was another reason for its passing away; it was an economic failure, and the shrewd Yankees, finding that it did not pay, started the entering wedge in 1774, in a measure against the importation of more negroes for slavery. In the preamble of that law, there is no claim to morality, justice, or humanity; the reasoning is wholly economic. It reads, "Whereas, the increase of slaves in this Colony is injurious to the poor, and inconvenient," it was enacted that "no indian or molatto slave shall at any time hereafter be brought or imported into this Colony, by sea or land from any place whatsoever, to be disposed of left or sold within this

Colony." The penalty was one hundred pounds. Business depression and scarcity of labor for many of the white people led to the conviction that, on the whole, slavery would better be given up. A more radical measure was passed in 1784, which provided that no negro or mulatto child, born after March 1, 1784, should be "held in servitude beyond the age of twenty-five," and in 1797 it was ordered that negro or mulatto children born after August 1, of that year should be released at the age of twenty-one. In 1788, the General Association of Congregational ministers declared the slave trade to be unjust, and that every justifiable measure ought to be taken to suppress it. At the next session of the legislature, Connecticut shippers were prohibited from engaging in the slave trade anywhere. In 1848, an act was passed to emancipate all slaves, placing upon masters or the towns responsibility for any in need, and there were but six slaves in the state at that time.

There was little disposition to encourage the negroes who were coming out of slavery, and in 1831, the free negroes of the United States, wishing to establish a college for their young men, with a mechanical department, decided that New Haven was a good place for the school, because of the scholarly atmosphere and because of the opportunities offered in the state for mechanical training. The announcement of the plan met a storm of opposition; the city officials and the voters denounced it in a public meeting, did their best to defeat it, and their action was fatal to it. There was a still more famous effort to start a school for negro girls in Connecticut, an enterprise which Henry Wilson in his *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power* places in the same class with *Uncle Tom's Cabin*—the endeavor of a young Quakeress, Prudence Crandall, to change her school of white pupils to one of negroes. Before taking the step, Miss Crandall consulted with leading abolitionists in Boston and New York, and soon announced to her pupils that they were to give place to "young ladies and little misses of color." A

committee waited upon Miss Crandall to protest; a public meeting was held and another protest made to the determined teacher. Another stormy crowd gathered in the meeting-house and passed a resolution that "the locality of a said school for the people of color at any place within the limits of the town . . . meets with our unqualified disapprobation." Five days later, the town officers presented the resolution, and there were those who urged Miss Crandall to take the price she had given for the house, but she refused, though she said she was willing to move to another part of the town. The school opened on the first Monday in April, 1833, with a dozen or so of quiet little colored girls from the finest negro families in the northern cities, and trouble began. As there was no law to meet the case a committee was appointed to draw one and present it at the Assembly, and while waiting for the law boycott was tried; stones were thrown against the schoolhouse by day and by night. When the case came before the legislature, the sentiment of every town in the state was: "We should not want a nigger on our common." The statute was enacted that "no person should set up a school for the instruction of colored persons . . . without the consent of a majority of the civil authority and selectmen in the town, under penalty of one hundred dollars for the first offence, and a double for every succeeding offence." Canterbury received the news of the passage of this law with firing of cannon, bonfires, and ringing of bells. In June, Miss Crandall was summoned before the Justice Court, and bound over to the Superior Court. Though the bail was moderate, no friend appeared as her bondsman, and the young lady went to jail for a night, which tended to make her a martyr; and reports of unjust imprisonment had great influence in creating sentiment in her favor. There was much litigation, and at length the people became impatient, and in September, 1834, just a year and a half after the school started, late one evening some men gathered about the building with axes and iron bars, and on a

signal dashed in the windows, and even Miss Crandall quailed before such ruffianism. The next day the pupils were told that the school must be given up, and the teacher left town. Fifty years afterward, the legislature voted her a pension of four hundred dollars.

We cannot understand how these events could take place in the nineteenth century in civilized communities. We can discuss them with calmness only as we remember the extreme jealousy of the towns over their rights, and the stern way the citizens had of asserting them. The change of sentiment concerning slavery came slowly, but at length it was seen that the practice, as Roger Sherman said at the constitutional convention, was iniquitous, a conviction to which the people came after they had learned that there was no money in it.

CHAPTER XII

CONNECTICUT STRUGGLES FOR HERSELF AND NEIGHBORS

IN establishing a commonwealth in a rude age, amid trying neighbors, when disagreeableness was not all on one side, when everybody wanted his rights, if not a little more, when boundaries north, east, and west were vague, when the terrors of a French and Indian war were scarcely more feared than British imperialism, Connecticut had a stern training. It was a long game, requiring shrewd calculation, quick thinking, sharp wits, steady nerves, strong wills, and patient waiting. Connecticut people could not endure interference of the British government, and the English kings found their settlers here hard to get along with. This colony thought Massachusetts and New York too grasping, and had it not been for the interference of the crown, Rhode Island would have been entirely swallowed up by her neighbors on north and west. The story may as well open with an event which occasioned much solicitude—the coming of the Regicides.

The death of Cromwell and the crowning of Charles II. unsettled affairs in New England, and when the regicide judges, who had signed the death-warrant of Charles I., arrived in Boston in the summer of 1660, there was much anxiety. They were Major-General Edward Whalley, a cousin of Cromwell, Major-General William Goffe, and Colonel John Dixwell, and they were among the seven judges who by the "Act of Indemnity" were refused pardon.

After the coronation of Charles II., a warrant was issued for their arrest, and hastily escaping from Cambridge, they went to New Haven, where they were concealed in the house of John Davenport, who in a notable sermon had prepared the people to shelter the men. After more than a month with Davenport the "Colonels" went to Governor Eaton's house. On May 11, two zealous loyalists appeared at Guilford at the house of Governor Leete, bearing a mandate from the king to arrest the men. The next day was Sunday, and, by one hindrance and another, the pursuers were detained till Monday morning, when they started for New Haven with a letter to the magistrate, advising him to cause a search to be made. Early as they started, some one else left Guilford before them in the night, and when the two officers of the king reached the city, the magistrate was not at home; but on the arrival of the governor two hours later with the magistrate of Branford, a long consultation was held in the court-room. The pursuers insisted that the regicides were hid in some of the houses in the town and that all their information pointed to the houses of Davenport and Jones; and they demanded of the governor a warrant to search for them. The governor and magistrates maintained that the Colonels had gone toward Manhadoes, and that they did not know the place of their concealment. As for the warrant which was demanded, they had constitutional and legal scruples, for Governor Leete was a trained lawyer. The governor told the pursuers that he could not and would not make them magistrates of his jurisdiction, as he should do if he should invest them with power to enter men's houses and search for criminals. Besides, the king's mandate appeared to be addressed to the governor of Massachusetts as if he were governor of all New England, and to others only as subordinate to him; and the magistrates feared that, by acting under such a mandate, they might acknowledge a governor-general, and might thus betray their trust to the people. When the pursuers asked if they would obey the king in the

matter, the governor replied, "We honor his Majesty, but we have tender consciences." The pursuers made as thorough a search as they dared under the circumstances, and a few days later returned to Boston. Meanwhile, the hunted men were in various places, spending many weeks in a cave on West Rock, while the colony was scoured for them, and large rewards were offered for information concerning them. August 19, they obtained a lodging-place in Milford, where they were hid for a few years. In October, 1664, they went to Hadley, Massachusetts, where the minister, Rev. John Russell, concealed them the rest of their days.

Connecticut was prompt to acknowledge the authority of Charles II., and John Winthrop, Jr. was sent to the English court to secure a charter; being a man of high standing and eminent scholarship, he easily secured influential friends at the court, and it is said that he had a valuable ring which had been given by Charles II. to his grandfather, which he presented to the king. Whatever the influences, in a season of good feeling, on April 23, 1662, Charles II. gave a patent, which conferred the most ample privileges and confirmed all lands which had been previously given according to the alleged grant to the Earl of Warwick, to the freemen of the Connecticut colony, and such as should be admitted as freemen. The territory given was,

all the Part of Our Dominions in New England in America, bounded on the East by Narragansett-River, commonly called Narragansett-Bay, where the said river falleth into the Sea; and on the North by the Line of the Massachusetts-Plantation; and on the South by the Sea; and in Longitude as the Line of the Massachusetts-Colony, running from East to West, That is to say, From the said Narragansett-Bay on the East, to the South Sea on the West Part, with the Islands thereunto adjoining, together with all firm Lands, Soils, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Waters, Fishings, Mines, Minerals, precious Stones, Quarries, and all and singular other Commodities, Jurisdictions, Royalties, Privileges, Franchises, Preheminences and Heredita-

ments whatsoever within the said tract, [on condition of paying] to Us, Our Heirs and Successors, only the fifth part of all the Ore of Gold and Silver which from Time to Time, and at all Times hereafter shall be gotten, had or obtained, in lieu of all Services, Duties and Demands whatsoever.

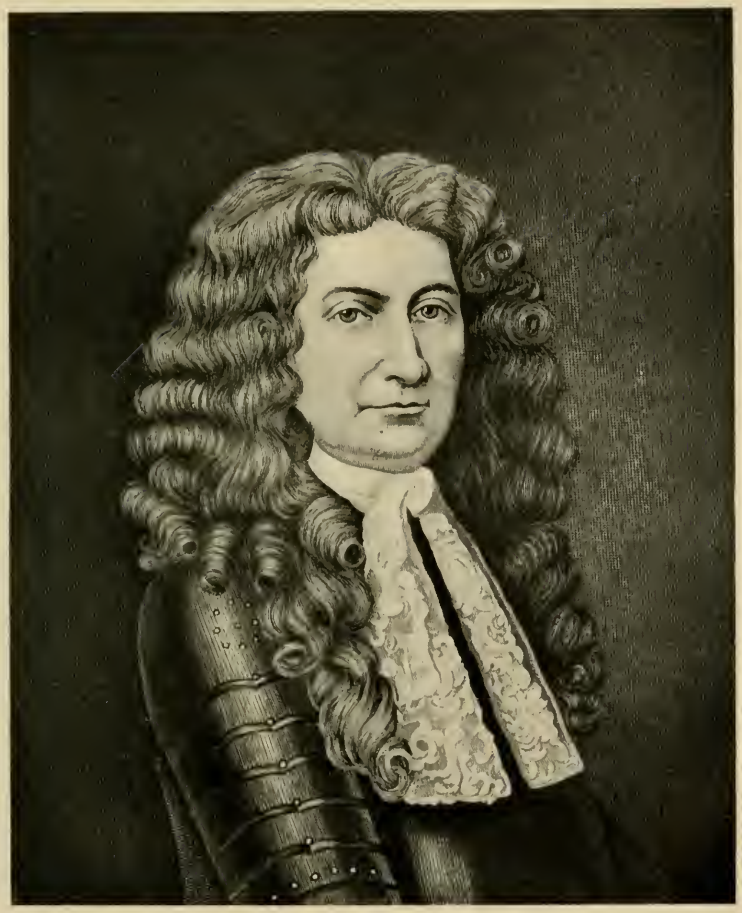
The form of government which was established by this charter was the most popular possible and continued to be the fundamental law of Connecticut for one hundred and fifty-six years. Although it was granted at a time when the rights of the people were slightly understood and little regarded, and by a sovereign who ruled England with arbitrary sway, the form of government established by the charter was of a more popular description, and placed all power within the more immediate reach of the people, than the constitution for which it was deliberately exchanged a century and a half later, at a time of republican freedom. The charter granted that the colony under John Winthrop and his successors should have power through its

Assistants and Freemen of the said Company, or such of them (not exceeding Two Persons from each Place, Town or City) to consult and advise in and about the Affairs and Business of the said Company . . . and Establish all manner of wholesome and reasonable Laws, Statutes, Ordinances and Directions and Instructions, not contrary to the Laws of this Realm of England.

The joy of the colonists on the Connecticut on receiving this charter was unbounded, and that of the New Haven settlers lessened by the fact that they were cast in with the older colony. After the death of Charles II., James II. proceeded to carry out the plan of uniting a number of scattered plantations, circled by Indians and jealous, meddlesome Dutch, into a strong colony under an efficient commander. The idea was neither unreasonable nor unphilanthropic, for with all his faults, James II. had a strong sentiment of English nationality, and the bringing of the northern provinces under

one head he hoped might unite New England in defense of the frontier. The idea did not appeal to the colonies, and though they knew that the soil of North America had been regarded as belonging to the crown, like the castle at Windsor, they were dismayed when, in the spring of 1686, Sir Edmund Andros arrived in Boston, in the frigate *Kingfisher*, glittering in scarlet and lace, with a guard of British soldiers, to become captain-general and governor-in-chief of New England. Moreover he was to have associated with him a council, whose first members were to be royal appointees. The governor and council were to make laws which were to conform to those of England and to be sent over to receive the sanction of the king. The oath of allegiance was to be required of all persons. The governor had authority to regulate the currency, to command the military and naval forces, and with the council to levy taxes for the support of the government.

The way for Andros had been prepared by a *quo warranto* issued by the king in the summer of 1685, citing the governor and company of Connecticut to appear before the king to show by what right they exercised certain powers and privileges. Connecticut was charged with making laws contrary to those of England; imposing fines on its inhabitants; enforcing an oath of fidelity to itself, and not the oaths of supremacy and allegiance; prohibiting the worship of the Church of England; refusing justice in its courts; excluding men of loyalty from its government, and keeping the reins in the hands of the Independents. The writs were not served within the dates returnable, and when Randolph appeared in Boston in the spring of 1686, he sent a letter to the officials of Connecticut, and neglected to tell them that the writs had run out, but he did tell them that there was nothing left for them to do but to resign their charter at once humbly and obediently, since if they undertook to defend it at law, they would have all western Connecticut annexed to New York at once, besides other possible disasters.



Edmund Andros, 1637–1714, Royal Governor of New England from November 1, 1687, to May 9, 1689

From the Engraving by E. G. Williams

He advised them to visit him at Boston, rather than have him go to them, "as a herald to denounce war." He said they need not think that they would gain any advantage "by spinning out time by delay," as the writs would keep as fresh as when landed. The shrewd Connecticut Yankees had lived too strenuous a life to be overwhelmed by these threats, and knowing about the writs, they had divided the unappropriated lands among the towns to keep them from the king's messengers, Hartford and Windsor obtaining most of Litchfield County. The magistrates held a special session, and decided upon an address to the king, entreating him to suspend his proceedings against their charter; and on July 20, Randolph appeared at Hartford and served his stern writs, calling John Allyn and John Talcott, keepers of the charter, out of bed at midnight to impress them with the danger of delay. Meanwhile Dudley, president of the council at Boston, had written a letter urging annexation to Massachusetts rather than to New York. It was a time of decided anxiety for the Connecticut leaders; the official heads, Treat, Allyn, Fitz John Winthrop and others, favored the surrender of the charter, for fear that the king might be provoked to make good Randolph's threat, and partition the colony among its neighbors; others were determined to give away nothing until compelled to do so. The majority of the people in the colony were against the surrender, and employed William Whiting, a London merchant, son of an old Hartford resident, to represent the colony, with power to submit to the king if compelled, but to employ counsel to defend the cases, and urge separate existence and not partition.

A new writ was issued October 6, 1686, and forwarded by Sir Edmund Andros, who, two days after he landed, sent an express messenger to Governor Treat, empowered to receive the charter; Randolph sent a letter by the same man insisting that the officials should comply without delay. The governor called together the General Assembly, which voted

to leave the matter to the governor and council. It was a trying situation, since the king was evidently determined to carry out his purpose, and he was not a man to be thwarted by the opposition of a handful of colonists on the Connecticut. Fifty corporations in England had been deprived of their charters; the city of London had stood trial with him and had given up its charter; the charter of Massachusetts had been vacated, and Rhode Island had submitted to the king. The Connecticut officials were quite the match for the resolute Andros and Randolph; writing a diplomatic letter, they said that they were satisfied to remain as they were, if the king were willing, but they must submit to his will, and if he chose to join them to the Massachusetts government as a separate province they would like it better than annexation to any other. This masterly letter, yielding much on the face and nothing in law, had the effect desired, though hardly expected, by its authors; the government accepted it as a legal surrender of their rights into the hands of the king, who dropped the proceedings in the writ, and wrote Andros to assume the power to which the colony had agreed.

The Assembly met as usual in October, 1687, and the government continued according to charter until the last of the month, when Sir Edmund Andros, with his suite, and more than sixty regular troops reached Hartford, when the Assembly was sitting, demanded the charter, and declared the government under it dissolved. The Assembly was extremely reluctant to make the surrender: the tradition is that Governor Treat dwelt upon the expense and hardships of the colonists in planting and defending the country, and declared that it was like giving up his life to yield. The affair was debated and kept in suspense until evening, when the charter was brought in and laid upon the table before Sir Edmund. Suddenly the lights were extinguished; the charter was passed out of the room, and Captain Joseph Wadsworth carried it away and hid it in a large oak, fronting the house of Samuel Wyllys, one of the magis-

trates. The people appeared orderly, the candles were relighted, but the patent could nowhere be found. It did not remain long in the oak, but was soon carried to Wadsworth's house and possibly to Andrew Leete's in Guilford. The colony was forced to submit for the time, and the next day, the secretary, John Allyn, wrote "Finis" on the colonial records, and closed the book. Sir Edmund began his government with flattering professions of friendliness and devotion to the public interests, but he soon placed vexatious and burdensome requirements upon the colony. Restraint was laid upon the liberty of the press, and Dudley was appointed censor; the writ of *habeas corpus* was suspended; fees of all officers were enormous: the common fee for the probate of a will was fifty shillings; colonial records were removed to Boston, requiring a long and expensive journey to enable one to consult them. Marriages could be performed only by magistrates. No land was to be purchased from the Indians except under license of the governor with a round fee. Sir Edmund said that Indian deeds were no better than the "scratch of a bear's paw." People who had been living for fifty years on their farms, and had gardens and orchards, had no clear title, except as they took out patents from the government of Sir Edmund, sometimes at an expense of fifty pounds. Writs were served against prominent men who would not submit to such impositions, and their lands were patented to others. All town meetings were prohibited, except one in the month of May, for the election of town officers. This was to prevent consultations for redress of grievances. It was a most rankling and humiliating imposition to men who had been accustomed to self-government, but the thorough Andros rode rough-shod over the people, carrying out the resolute purposes of King James. Randolph was not ashamed to make his boast in his letters, in respect to Governor Andros and his council, "that they were as arbitrary as the great Turk."

Governor Treat was a father to the people in their de-

spondency, and in the general depression in business and social life; and the joy was great when word came in April, 1689, that James II. had fled to France, and William and Mary had been enthroned. The officials brought the charter from its shelter, called town delegates together, and the old government resumed its functions. In 1693, Fitz John Winthrop was sent to England to obtain a confirmation of the charter and was assured by the best lawyers of the crown that the charter was entirely valid. The basis of the opinion was that it had been granted under the great seal; that it had not been surrendered under the common seal of the colony, nor had any judgment of record been entered against it; that its operation had merely been interfered with by overpowering force; that the peaceable submission to Andros was merely an illegal suspension of lawful authority. William was willing to secure the fruits of James's plan of controlling the colonies, as he showed by enforcing the forfeiture of the Massachusetts charter; but the law in the case of Connecticut was too plain, and he ratified the lawyers' opinion in April, 1694.

It is not possible to imagine how the colony could have conducted the affair of the charter with greater wisdom. The passive attitude of the government had disarmed Andros so far as to cause legal proceedings necessary to forfeit it to cease, and prompt action at the right time brought it again into force, after the Andros sway had been endured for a little more than two years. Having resumed her government, which she had enjoyed for fifty years, a government prized all the more because of the exactions and requirements of the Andros rule, Connecticut took in hand the settlement of the boundaries, which was a longer and more trying experience, for the colony was dealing with men in New York, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island who were as intelligent, aggressive, and tenacious in their insistence upon acquiring the last square inch of land as was Connecticut herself.

The boundary dispute between Connecticut and New

The Wyllys Mansion and the Charter Oak

(From a drawing in the possession of Miss Ellen M. Stuart.) Reproduced from *Patron Saints of Conn. Chapters of the D. A. R.*

York was serious and bitter. Soon after the royal charter was given to Connecticut, the king gave his brother James, Duke of York (March 12, 1664), a patent of an extensive tract, which included "all that island or islands commonly called Long Island . . . and all the land from the west side of the Connecticut river to the east side of Delaware Bay." Colonel Richard Nicolls sailed across the Atlantic and surprised the Dutch; New Amsterdam surrendered August 27, 1664, and was at once named New York. On October 13, Connecticut sent commissioners to New York to congratulate the commissioners there and establish a boundary. In the agreement it was declared that Long Island belonged to New York and

> that creek or river called Momoroneck, which is reputed to be about thirteen miles east of West Chester, and a line drawn from the east point or side where the fresh water falls into the salt at high water, north-west to the line of Massachusetts be the western bounds of the said colony of Connecticut: and all plantations lying westward of that creek and line so drawn to be under his Royal Highness' government, and all the plantations lying eastward of that creek and line to be under the government of Connecticut.

This was never confirmed by the crown, and New York refused to abide by it. The line crossed the Hudson at Peekskill, but it was never surveyed. In 1672, the Dutch recaptured the province, and when the English again took possession by the treaty of Westminster, a new patent was granted the Duke of York, June 29, 1674, like the former, and he seemed disposed to execute it to the letter.

Though King Philip's war was in progress, the government prepared to resist, and sent troops to garrison Saybrook and New London. Captain Thomas Bull was in command at Saybrook, and June 9, 1675, he saw an armed fleet approaching the fort. By command of the colonial authorities Captain Bull told Andros that the English

needed no help against Indian foes. On the morning of July 12, Andros asked leave to go ashore for a conference with the officers. This was granted and he landed with his suite. Bull met Andros on shore and bluntly told him that he was instructed to resist the invasion. Bull knew the charter of the Dudley government of 1664 had named the Connecticut River as the eastern boundary. He also knew Connecticut never surrendered anything unless compelled. Andros bade his clerk read aloud the two papers which gave him his authority, and Bull told the clerk to forbear. The latter persisted, and the captain commanded "Forbear!" in a tone which Andros did not choose to resist. Admiring the coolness of the Connecticut officer, Andros said, "What is your name?" "My name is Bull, sir," was the answer. "Bull!" replied the governor. "It is a pity your horns were not tipped with silver."

This game of bluff worked well, and matters quieted down for a while until the discussion of the boundary was opened afresh in 1682, and New York claimed twenty miles east of the Hudson, on the ground that the royal commissioners had said that the Mamaroneck River was "twenty miles everywhere from the Hudson." If Connecticut would not allow this, New York threatened that she would claim all the territory to the Connecticut River. Commissioners of the two colonies met in 1683, and came to an agreement that the Byram River, between Rye and Greenwich, should be the western boundary of Connecticut; or from Lyon's Point at the mouth of the Byram River up the stream to the wading place, thence north northwest eight English miles, thence east twelve miles parallel to the Sound, and thence in a line parallel to, and twenty miles distant from, the Hudson River. It was further agreed that New York should receive from Connecticut along the remainder of her western boundary as much as Connecticut took from New York at Greenwich and along the Sound. This deprived Connecticut of Rye—a loss severely felt. Connecticut has Greenwich, Stamford,

Darien, New Canaan, Norwalk, and a part of Wilton to which New York yielded all claim. In return New York received a strip one and three-quarters miles and twenty rods wide along the west side of Connecticut, which is parallel to and twenty miles distant from the Hudson River. This was called the Oblong or Equivalent Tract, containing 61,440 acres. In 1855, as most of the old landmarks had been removed or destroyed, it became necessary to establish the boundary lines, and there was a special reason for this in the fact that people along the line had evaded paying taxes to either state. The commissioners established the boundary to the last angle, but on that to the Massachusetts line there was a difference of opinion. New York wished to find the old and traditional line, and Connecticut desired to survey a new line. A line was run, but it differed from the other by forty-two rods at the widest part, made a difference of twenty-six thousand acres, and New York refused to yield. The matter rested until 1859, when new commissioners were appointed, who made a new survey, and Connecticut would not yield. Then New York empowered her commissioners to survey and mark with monuments a mile apart the line as fixed by the survey of 1731, but Connecticut would not agree to the line thus marked. In 1878, there was again a dispute and the commissioners came to a decision December 5, 1879, whereby the western boundary of Connecticut was established on the old line of 1731, and the twenty-six thousand acres was given up to New York. In exchange the southern boundary was carried into the Sound six hundred feet south of Byram's Point, then southeast three and a half miles, then northeast to a point four miles south of New London lighthouse, thence through Fisher's Island Sound, as far as said states are coterminous. This was ratified by the states, and Congress confirmed the ratification in 1880.

It consumed more than a century and a half to settle the northern boundary. In 1642, Massachusetts em-

ployed two "mathematicians," Woodward and Saffery, to run the line according to the charter. These highly ingenious men began operations by finding a point "three English miles on the south part of the Charles River, or of any or every part thereof" from which to survey a line toward the Pacific; preferring a boat trip to a tramp through the woods among wolves and Indians, they sailed around Cape Cod and up the Connecticut River to a point which they believed to be of the same latitude as at the starting-point. They erred on the safe side for their employers and gave Massachusetts a strip of Connecticut eight miles wide. There was no end of dispute over this, and in 1695, Connecticut had a survey made, to the result of which Massachusetts objected, and Connecticut people continued to settle in Enfield and Suffield on disputed lands. Different sets of commissioners went over the question, and the only reason why there was no appeal to the crown was the heavy expense. There were petitions and threats, and until the Revolution, Connecticut continued to govern Enfield, Suffield, and Woodstock, while Massachusetts levied taxes without collecting; sending notices of fast days and elections, claiming as late as 1768, that she had not given up jurisdiction; warning the towns not to pay taxes to Connecticut. In 1793, both states appointed commissioners to ascertain the boundaries of Southwick and west to New York, also east of the Connecticut River. They reported that the line was nearly all correct, except a tract of two and a half miles square at Southwick which Massachusetts thought that she should have to compensate for the towns she had lost. This was refused by Connecticut in 1801. In 1803, Massachusetts was willing to compromise, and the following year it was arranged that Connecticut should keep a slice of Southwick, and Massachusetts hold land west of the pond in that town,—the same indentation into Connecticut remains to-day.

The eastern boundary seemed for a long time hopeless.

Rufus Choate said of it at one of its stages: "The commissioners might as well have decided that the line between the states was bounded on the north by a bramble bush, on the south by a bluejay, on the west by a hive of bees in swarming time, and on the east by five hundred foxes with firebrands tied to their tails." Connecticut claimed all the Narragansett country to the Bay by the conquest of the Pequots; and Massachusetts on the ground of her assistance to Connecticut. Both regarded Rhode Island as a nonentity. In 1658, the New England commissioners assigned the Mystic River as the boundary between Massachusetts and Connecticut, giving Rhode Island and the eastern part of Connecticut to Massachusetts. The Connecticut charter in 1662, carried that colony to the Bay. In 1663, Rhode Island secured, through its agent in London, a charter which assigned the Pawcatuck River from mouth to source, and thence due north to the Massachusetts boundary as its western line. Confusion followed with proclamations, arrests, and bitter controversies until 1703, when commissioners were again appointed, who agreed that the boundary should be the middle channel of the Pawcatuck River, from salt water to the branch called Ashaway, and thence in a straight line north to the Massachusetts line, through a point twenty miles due west of the extremity of Warwick Neck. Contentions followed till 1727, when the Privy Council recommended that the agreement of 1703, should stand; and except for a slight straightening in 1840, it is the boundary between the states, established after sixty-five years of quarreling. It was fortunate for Rhode Island to be able to appeal to England, and the victory was just.

Another controversy gave the colony trouble for years, the case of the cession in 1639, by the Mohican Indians of New London County and parts of Windham and Tolland counties. Uncas deeded this tract, the famous Norwich tract, to thirty-five proprietors; it covered nine square miles, and in 1640, a deed was drawn between Uncas and the

colony. The deed is ambiguous, but it states that Uncas parted with his whole country, except the planting ground, for five yards of cloth and a few pairs of stockings. This was done with the consent of Major John Mason, the chief adviser of the Mohicans.

Other sales and grants were made by Uncas and other Mohicans until, in 1680, of the eight hundred square miles, the extent of the original Mohican country, only a small portion remained in possession of the Indians. The Mason family acted as trustees of the Mohicans, and the case was in litigation for almost a century. The decision was repeatedly rendered, supporting the colony in the possession of the lands; and appeals were repeatedly made by the Mason family. In 1743, commissioners from New York and New Jersey confirmed the original decision sustaining the contention of Connecticut; an appeal was taken to the king's Privy Council, which decided in favor of the colony. The decision was reached January 15, 1773, when the Mason appeal was dismissed, and the judgment of 1743, affirmed.

Connecticut was not only under a strain to secure her boundaries, she was called on to help her neighbors; and when, in 1669, New York was threatened by the French and Indians, Governor Leisler wrote to her neighbor on the east, asking for troops. Captain Bull led a contingent to Albany, another force went to New York, and later, Connecticut joined the rest of New England and New York in an expedition against Canada, which proved a failure. Another call came for help in 1693, and Governor Treat sent a body of troops to the defense of Albany. It was about that time that the liberties enjoyed so long were threatened by the arrival of Colonel Benjamin Fletcher, the new governor of New York, who came from England with a commission to command the whole militia of Connecticut and the neighboring provinces. The Assembly, September 1, 1693, voted that Major-General Fitz John Winthrop intercede with the king, and William Pitkin was sent to interview Governor

Fletcher; the latter made no impression on the martial governor. On October 26, Fletcher reached Hartford and demanded the surrender of the militia, and ordered that it be summoned under arms. The officers called the train-bands together. With the soldiers before the Assembly House, the Assembly insisted that Fletcher's demands were not consistent with their charter. In Fletcher's name, Colonel Bayard sent a letter to the Assembly setting forth the object of the visit: not to interfere with the rights of the province, but merely for the recognition of the king's abstract right to control the military force; and he tendered to Governor Treat a commission in Fletcher's name to command the militia. He said also that he would issue his proclamation to the people, and would then be able to distinguish the loyal from the disloyal.

The train-bands were arranged in due order, Captain Wadsworth was walking up and down in front of the companies, when Fletcher approached to within hearing distance and ordered his commission and instructions to be read. The moment Bayard began to read, Captain Wadsworth commanded the drums to beat, drowning the voice of the herald. "Silence!" said Fletcher, in a tone of authority. When the beating subsided Bayard again began to read the commission. "*Drum*, I say, *drum!*" said Wadsworth, and again the voice was lost in the drum-beat. "Silence, silence!" shouted the New York governor. "*Drum*, *drum*, I say!" repeated Wadsworth; and then turning to Fletcher he said, "If I am interrupted again, I will make the sun shine through you in a moment!" At that point, Fletcher withdrew. To show her loyalty under the charter, the Assembly voted a tax of a penny a pound to raise soldiers, and fifty bushels of wheat from every county, and the amount was paid Fletcher for defense of Albany. Winthrop was sent to England to make a full statement of the situation to the king's attorney and solicitor-general, who reported favorably concerning the action of Connecticut, and

the king approved. It was voted to place one hundred and twenty men at the disposal of the governor of New York, and that the remainder be under the direction of the governor of Connecticut. In 1703, Governor Dudley of Massachusetts called for troops to aid in the war with the Indians on the east, and four hundred troops were raised to resist the Indians on the north.

There was a long struggle to retain the powers granted by the charter in opposition to the Board of Trade, which for forty years sought to carry out the plan of a union of the colonies. Charges were made against Connecticut of piracy, contraband trade, and other crimes, and Gershom Bulkley's "Will and Doom" played a part in the proceedings; there were also complaints of the treatment of the Mohicans. Governor Dudley supported the movement, and was seconded by Governor Cornbury of New York. Connecticut was represented by Sir Henry Ashurst, who knowing that it was a struggle for cherished privileges of the colony, secured two of the best advocates in England, and these men argued the case effectively, insisting that a copy of the charges should be sent to the governor of Connecticut, with a request for answers to each allegation, and also that Dudley and Cornbury be required to forward proofs in legal form. In due time a letter arrived from Ashurst telling the colony that it was the opinion of the crown that the colony should control militia and money. This was not the last attempt to weaken the force of the charter, and a good deal could be said from the imperialist point of view, for the attempt to unite the colonies to the crown was not pure tyranny and maliciousness. From the standpoint of Connecticut the issue was a happy one, and though the colony entered the eighteenth century burdened with debts incurred in the struggles for herself and her neighbors, the debts were of slight moment in comparison with the institutions and discipline which sixty years of alertness, resoluteness, and poise had developed.

CHAPTER XIII

THE UNITED COLONIES OF NEW ENGLAND

WHILE the colonies of New England were all animated by a spirit of extreme independence, which often found expression in jealousy verging sometimes almost on hostility, there was a time when it seemed wise to form a confederacy. The nearness and hostility of the Dutch settlements, nervousness about the action of the mother-country, and the fear of the Indians brought about a league of the four colonies of Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven. There was a population of twenty-three thousand five hundred souls, of which number Massachusetts had fifteen thousand, Plymouth and Connecticut three thousand each, and New Haven two thousand five hundred. There were several reasons why it seemed best to form the confederation, for despite the growth, energy, and optimism of the settlements, their condition was precarious for years. The Pequots had been swept away, but the colonists were surrounded by undesirable neighbors: Mohawks were not distant, Dutch were meddlesome, and Narragansetts powerful. In August, 1637, during the war with the Pequots, some of the Connecticut leaders suggested to the authorities at Boston the expediency of a form of union, and the next year Massachusetts submitted a plan, but Connecticut objected, because it permitted a mere majority of the federal commissioners to decide questions. In 1639, Hooker and Haynes went to Boston and discussed the pro-

posal, but Plymouth and Massachusetts disagreed over the boundary line, and the needed covenant was postponed. At a General Court held at Boston, September 27, 1642, letters from Connecticut were read, "certifying us that the Indians all over the country had combined themselves to cut off all the English." Anxieties also arose from the Dutch at that time, hence the Connecticut proposal was favorably received, and was referred to a committee to consider it. At the next General Court at Boston, May 10, 1643, a compact of confederation, drawn up in writing, was signed by commissioners from Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Haven. The settlements of Gorges and Mason at Piscataqua and the beginnings of Rhode Island were denied admission,—the former, because they "ran a different course from us both in their ministry and administration," and the latter, because they were regarded as "tumultuous" and "schismatic."

It was natural that men who had so much in common, who had come hither with similar purposes, should wish to form a league for mutual helpfulness and defense, yet they got along better by living in different colonies, because men of their positive views needed considerable room. They thought more of one another because miles of forest separated them, yet they were all Englishmen of solid common sense, who saw that in union there is strength. It is suggestive of their independence of judgment, and of an event one hundred and thirty-five years later, that they did not ask permission of their home government. After a preamble which said "we live encompassed with people of several nations and strange languages," that "the savages have of late combined themselves against us," and that "the sad distractions" in England prevented advice and protection thence; the paper states that the colonies wished to maintain "a firm and perpetual league of friendship and amity, for offense and defense, mutual advice and succor upon all just occasions, both for preserving and propagating the truth and

liberties of the gospel, and for their own mutual safety and welfare."

The first two articles bound together the four colonies under the name of *The United Colonies of New England.* The third provided that they be self-governing. The fourth ordered that levies of men, money, and supplies for war should be assessed on the colonies, in proportion to the male population between sixteen and sixty. By the fifth, upon notice of three magistrates of an invasion, the rest were to send relief; Massachusetts to the number of one hundred men, and each of the others, forty-five, "sufficiently armed and provided," and if more were needed the commissioners were to convene. By the sixth, a board of commissioners, consisting of two men from each colony, was to "determine all affairs of war or peace leagues, aids, charges, and numbers of men for war, division of spoils, receiving more confederates, and all things of like nature." The concurrence of six commissioners should be conclusive; failing in this, the matter was to be referred to the legislature of each colony, and the concurrence of the four was to bind. The commissioners met once a year, and as much oftener as necessary. The six other articles ordered that the president should have "no power or respect" except "to take care and direct"; that action should be taken to promote peace and justice between the colonies and toward the Indians, and the extradition of runaway slaves and fugitives from justice; that whenever any colony violated the alliance, the others should determine the offense and remedy.

The two defects in the constitution were that the federal government had no authority to act on individuals, and thus no power to coerce; and the equal number of votes allowed the colonies was plainly unjust, since the population of Massachusetts was greater than that of the other three colonies combined. The commission, with such men as Haynes, Hopkins, Mason, Winthrop, Eaton, and Ludlow on the board, increased the military force of the colonies, and

helped to solve puzzling questions about boundaries, pay of soldiers, tax on corn and beaver, and union of Connecticut and New Haven.

The last annual meeting of the confederation was held in Hartford in 1664. The conditions leading to the forming of the commission had to a large degree passed away; the surrender of New Amsterdam to the Duke of York had relieved the colony of her Dutch neighbors; Indians within the colonies were friendly, and for six years the meetings ceased, but in 1670, a convention was held in Boston, and new articles of confederation adopted. Power for offensive war was given to the several legislatures, and a fiery debate was had over the apportionment of military forces and supplies. In the days of its prosperity, the confederation was of some use in concentrating and combining the military strength of the colonies; and in time of trouble, it sometimes brought relief and satisfaction to people tempted to be discouraged. To say that it helped much to prepare for the union of a century later suggests more exercise of imagination than use of facts.

CHAPTER XIV

EARLY MANUFACTURERS AND COMMERCE

IT is impossible to think of the ancestors of the Connecticut as we know it as other than interested in manufacturing and trade. As we have seen, one of the inducements the Indians urged, when they invited the settlers to come hither, was the opportunity for trade. Since there were no roads in the beginning, and Sound and rivers offered many convenient outlets for their products, ships and shipbuilding began to interest the people at an early date. The larger vessels had three masts, whose principal sails were extended by yards slung to the middle, and often to other vessels which would not now deserve the term. The *Mayflower*, a large vessel for its day, registered only one hundred and twenty tons. There was a two-masted vessel called the "ketch," square-rigged like the vessels just described, and also having a fore-and-aft mainsail. There were also schooners with two topsails, and there were full-rigged brigs. The smaller vessels were generally sloop-rigged, with one stout and not very high mast, a very large topsail and mainsail. The vessels were well-built and strong, and slow sailers, with low decks, high waist, and less sharpness in the bow than now, but they were good sea boats, and varied from fifty to two hundred tons. They made two, and sometimes three, voyages a year to the West Indies. They often stayed long in a port to pick up a cargo, sending boats far along the coast or inland to gather sugar, molasses, and rum

from the large estates, and on these excursions sailors sometimes contracted fevers. Shipbuilding was a laborious trade, as there were no appliances for bending timbers by steam; and logs were converted into planks by having one man beneath in a pit, the other above; bolts, spikes, and nails were shaped by the blacksmith; pins with a broad-axe. The first man in Wethersfield to build a ship was Samuel Smith, in the year 1649, and for many years sloops, schooners, and brigs were built there, on both sides of the river. The launching was a popular event, at which there was a liberal supply of Santa Cruz rum, and balls were often held in the evening. A diary of a Glastonbury man of October 30, 1794, says: "Went to launching of a ship of five hundred tons; not less than three thousand persons were present." When vessels sailed, it was the custom to have prayers offered in the churches for their safe return; and on their coming to port, thanks were given for their safety.

Owing to lack of knowledge of the coast and dangers from freebooters, especially in times of war, it was regarded a risky thing to go from New Haven to Boston; Nicholas Augur, one of the earliest physicians of New Haven, and interested also in commercial ventures, being about to sail for Boston, made his will. A few years later, when returning home, he was wrecked on an island off Cape Sable, and died there. The first mention of commerce between New Haven and Barbadoes was in 1647, when salted beef was exchanged for sugar. Salted fish was early an article of export—the famous alewives or alewhorps, whose many bones became tender by the time they reached the West Indies. In 1680, there were but twenty-six vessels in the colony—four ships, three pinks, two barks, six ketches, and eleven sloops. Hartford had a sloop of ninety tons, which traded with England; Middletown a ship of seventy tons; New London the brigantine *Dolphin* of eighty tons. These were engaged in European and West India trade. The tonnage tax was fifteen shillings, paid annually as a town tax.

THE SHALLOP THE KETCH

Early Sailing Vessels

The slender commerce was carried on mostly from New London, whence all vessels had to clear, and where a naval officer was stationed. Goods could be imported only from the town of Berwick on the Tweed and the West Indies. In 1702, the number of lawful ports in the colony was increased to include Saybrook, Guilford, New Haven, Milford, Stratford, Fairfield, and Stamford. Commerce was handicapped by scanty sawmills and shipyards, ignorance of channels and inlets, danger from pirates, and during wars, by French and Spanish privateers. The English Acts of Trade, dating from 1660, applied to the colonies, and there were restrictive laws passed by the several colonies against one another. A law was passed by the legislature in 1694, which required vessels to pay "powder money" at every fort, within whose range they came, at risk of cannonade. In 1659, nine men were appointed by the General Court, one for every port, to enter and record such goods as were subject to custom. An excise of a shilling apiece was laid on beaver skins as early as 1638, and in 1659, a duty of twenty-five shillings was laid on every butt of wine, and a tax on liquor or rum, except that from Barbadoes, commonly called *Kill Devil*, which was not allowed to land. In 1662, an act was passed prohibiting the carrying of corn or other provisions out of the river, and in the same year, the General Court passed a vote to require the customs-masters to collect an import duty of twopence per pound on tobacco, "according to the law of England."

In 1702, Saybrook became a port of entry for the river, and was allowed a naval officer, but he was not recognized by the crown, and vessels clearing from that town were liable to seizure in England, when they could not produce clearance papers signed by the collector of the crown at New London, the only port established by British authority. In 1714, an export duty of twenty shillings per thousand was levied on barrel staves, and thirty shillings on pipe staves shipped from the colony, in which Wethersfield had the

largest business. "Pipe staves, clapboards, and tar" appear to have been the earliest articles of export, and these were carried off in such quantities that a fear arose that there might be a total destruction of timber, and as early as 1641, a law provided for the dimensions of pipe staves, and for an inspector in every town. The staves were shipped in bundles to the West Indies; many returning in the shape of pipes or hogsheads, filled with molasses, sugar, or rum; while many were made into casks in the colony, and filled with salt beef, pork, fish, and kiln-dried corn meal for the West Indies, whence also salt was brought in large quantities. In 1715, a duty was imposed on ship timber sent to other provinces, and a duty of twelve shillings and sixpence was laid on every hundred pounds of goods imported here by non-inhabitants. In 1747, a five per cent. *ad valorem* duty was placed on goods imported from other colonies, if the importer resided in the colony; if he lived outside, the duty was half as much more. Exceptions to this law were iron, nails, steel, salt, beaver, leather, deerskins, fish, train oil, whalebone, rice, tar, turpentine, window-glass, and lumber. From the report made to the Privy Council by Governor Leete in 1680, it appears that horses, rye, wheat, barley, peas, wool, hemp, flax, cider, tar, and pitch were shipped to Barbados, Jamaica, Fayal, and Madeira, but much was taken to Boston and "bartered for clothing." Afterward, beaver, deerskins, brick, salted beef, pork, and fish, flaxseed, and onions were added to the exports, and "European goods," with salt, rum, molasses, and sugar from the West Indies, formed the chief imports.

There was another line of business carried on by the sea captains of which we have no definite records, a clandestine business, but one that had money in it, in which some of the vessels from Connecticut ports may have engaged—that of slavers. Vessels left New England for the Canary Islands "and a market," and the market was the west coast of Africa, and the return cargo was a load of blacks for the

West India ports or the southern cities of America. We wish it were not morally certain that some Connecticut captains engaged in this traffic; but the chances are that the attractions of making money in this way would appeal as strongly to an occasional Connecticut man as to a captain from Newport, and Narragansett Bay was the home of many vessels engaged in transporting blacks from Africa. If a vessel out of the Connecticut river, or New London harbor was gone six or nine months on a trading voyage, the wise ones looked as though they could a tale unfold.

There was an effort in 1665, to make New London the center of trade in the colony; a letter was written by the colonial government to the commissioners appointed by Charles II., complaining of the low ebb in traffic, and asking for free trade for seven, ten, or twelve years. Again in 1680, there was a request for free ports for twenty, fifteen, or ten years. In describing the harbor the letter says: "A ship of five hundred tunns may go up to the Town, and come so near shoar that they may toss a biskitt on shoar." No royal privileges were granted, nor were they necessary, for the energy and enterprise of the people were sufficient. The first shipbuilder of importance at New London, the best port of the colony, was John Coit, who built barks of from twelve to twenty tons for from fifty to eighty-two pounds. In 1661, the first merchant vessel built in the place was launched with the name of *New London Tryall*, and the cost of it was two hundred pounds. There was soon a coast trade with New York, and in 1662, trade sprang up with Virginia in dry hides and buckskins. The captains were usually part owners, and vessels, carrying two men and a boy, went along the shore, stopping here and there to trade and dicker. New London soon became famous for its coasters and skippers, and men from other seaside places were engaged in the business. It was a notable event for the commerce of Connecticut when in October, 1707, John Shackmaple was appointed by the home government collector, surveyor,

and searcher for the colony. Commerce increased, and horses were sent in large numbers to the West Indies. On June 26, 1724, six vessels went together, loaded with horses. The vessels were called "horse-jockeys" and forty or fifty horses were sometimes carried on one vessel. In 1720, Captain John Jeffrey came from Portsmouth, England, and settled at Groton Bank. Five years later, he built for Captain Sterling the largest vessel yet constructed on this side of the Atlantic, a vessel of seven hundred tons, and soon New London had a reputation for large ships.

In 1730, the "New England Society of Trade and Commerce" was formed with eighteen members scattered over the colony, but misfortune attended it from the start: a whaler which it sent out came to grief; other vessels were lost, and it tried to redeem its fortunes by emitting paper, but to no good purpose, and the governor and council were forced to dissolve it in 1735. In 1760, the first lighthouse on the coast was erected at the entrance to New London harbor from the proceeds of a lottery.

A famous enterprise of Connecticut Yankees started in 1740, when William and Edward Paterson came from County Tyrone, Ireland, skilled in the art of shaping tinned sheet iron into small ware. Settling in Berlin, they began work. Their goods were eagerly bought as luxuries, and in the dearth of roads and wagons they carried their products around in handcarts, and in large baskets swung from the backs of horses. Many shops were soon in full blast until the war interrupted the work. The minds of the people almost from the first turned to inventions and manufactures, and within a few years there were developed trades, engaging the skill of sawyers, carpenters, ship-carpenters, thatchers, chimney-sweepers, brickmakers, bricklayers, plasterers, tanners, shoemakers, saddlers, weavers, tailors, hatters, blacksmiths, gunsmiths, cutlers, nailers, millers, bakers, coopers, and potters. Often the same man practiced several trades. Little could be done without iron and copper and in 1651,

John Winthrop, Jr., petitioned the legislature for "incouragement to make search and trial for metals in this country." There was a cordial response, and in 1665, iron works were projected; Winthrop and Stephen Goodyear uniting in setting up a mill for rolling balls of iron, and a forge at the outlet of Lake Saltonstall, near New Haven, and the works were in operation there for several years. In 1661, Winthrop prospected in the vicinity of Middletown, and a lead mine, which had traces of silver, was worked there by skilled miners.

Early in the eighteenth century, interest in mining awoke afresh when copper was found in Wallingford and Simsbury, and in 1709, the General Assembly granted the first charter in America to a mining company; this organization was formed to work the mine at Simsbury, now Granby. The first record of copper at Granby was in 1705, when a committee from the town reported that there was a "mine of silver or copper in the town." Two years later a company was formed, and a contract made to dig for ore. The ore was shipped to England, and when assayed it was found to contain from fifteen to twenty per cent. of copper, with sprinklings of gold and silver; but the quartz mixed with it was refractory, and since England would not then allow smelters to be set up here, the cost of transportation being so heavy, with carting and loss of a vessel, which sank in the British Channel, and another captured by the French, the company bankrupted, and the buildings at the mines and the mine were attached in 1725. Work was carried on at intervals for seventy years, sometimes by slave labor sometimes by free; now by private parties, then by chartered companies. In 1728, Joseph Higley took out a patent for a process of making steel—the first in America, and was given the monopoly for ten years, and in 1750, there was a steel furnace at Killingworth. The most important iron mines in Connecticut are those in Salisbury, where ore was first discovered about 1732, at Ore Hill, about a mile from the New York line—a deposit of brown hematite, and it was

first forged at Lime Rock, five miles distant, in 1734. About 1748, a forge was erected at Lakeville, and in 1762, the first blast furnace in the state was built, about two miles from the mine. After the Revolution opened, the government took possession and put it into full operation with sixty workmen, to furnish supplies for the army. Cannon up to thirty-two-pounders, with shot and shell, were cast there. The guns were tested under the eyes of such leaders as Jay, Morris, Hamilton, and Trumbull. The guns of the battery at New York, of the *Constellation*, *Constitution*, and many other battle-ships of the old navy, were made of the Salisbury iron, and probably at Lakeville.

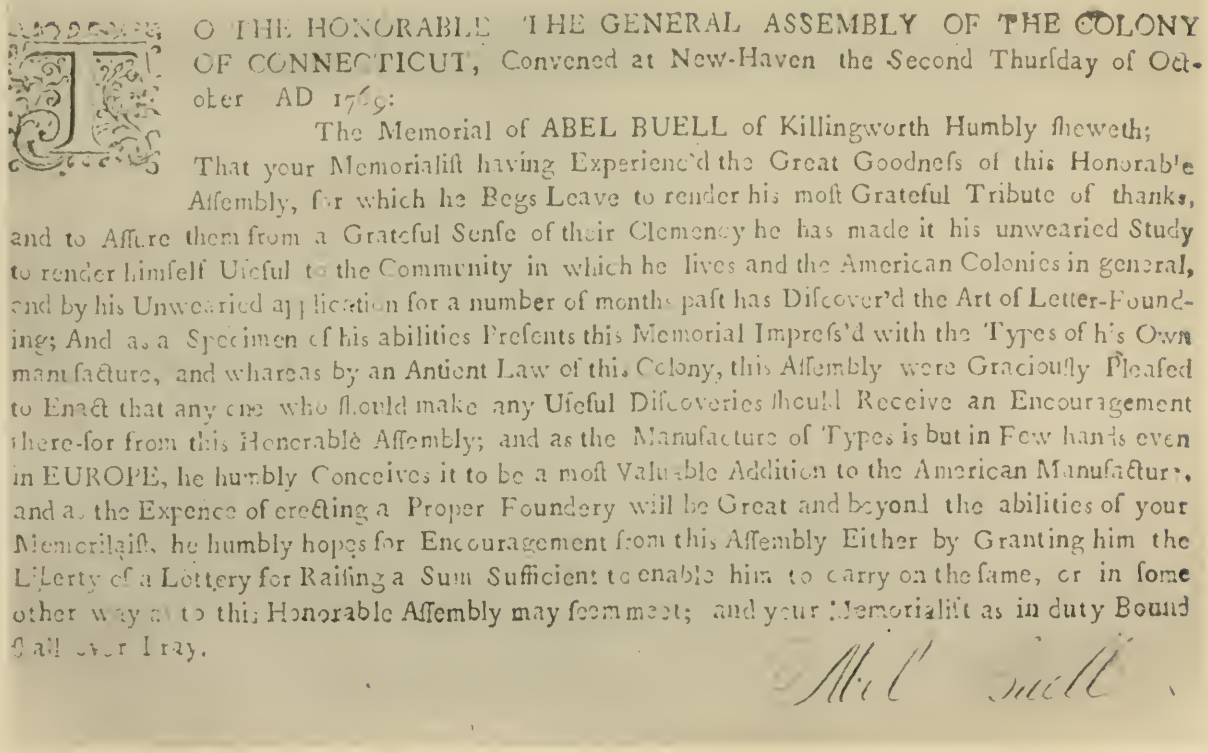
Other furnaces were established in that region, and at one time Litchfield County contained as many as fifty forges. The Salisbury mines furnish iron of decided value for cannon, gun-barrels, and chains, because of its toughness. For years the government arsenal at Springfield received from Salisbury iron for guns. It is now used for car wheels, being mixed with other iron, thereby nearly doubling the life of a wheel. There are references in the records to iron works in Lyme in 1741, in Derby in 1760; and the largest copper mine in Connecticut was opened in Bristol late in the eighteenth century. In 1766, Abel Buell of Killingworth made the first lapidary machine in this country. About 1769, there appeared the first series of historical prints—views of the battles of Lexington and Concord, also maps for Morse's geography.

Tobacco followed commerce from Virginia to Connecticut, and was first grown in the latter state in 1640; an old record says, "most people plant most so much tobacco as they spend." In 1641, the following law was passed: "It is ordered that what person or persons within this jurisdiction shall after September, 1641, drinke any other tobacco, but such as shalbe planted within their libertye, shall forfeit for every pound so spent, five shillings, except they have license from this Coute." In 1646, the law was repealed;

and evidently the use rapidly increased, for in 1647, a law was passed to lessen the abuses arising from the new drug. It was provided that "no one under twenty years nor any other that hath not allreaddy accustomed himself to the Use thereof should take any Tobacco until he had a Certificat from some one approved in Physicke that it is usefull for him." A "Lycence" from the Court was also required. Even then, no one was to take it "Publicquely," or in "fyelds or woods, unless they be on their travill or joyney at least ten myles." The penalty for every violation was sixpence. A man might smoke at the "ordinary tyme of repast comonly called dynner," but not take any "Tobacco in any howse in the same towne where he liveth with any one in company, if there be any more than one who Useth or drinketh the same weed with him at the same tyme." For fifty years the main question concerning the use of tobacco was from the standpoint of idleness and drinking. In 1662, a bill was passed in favor of high protection, putting on a tariff of twenty-five shillings per hogshead; after 1700, tobacco was one of the exports.

In 1732, began the effort to raise silkworms. One of the earliest planters of mulberry trees was Gov. Jonathan Law, who introduced the raising of silkworms on his farm in Cheshire, and in 1747, appeared in public in the first coat and stockings made of Connecticut silk; Dr. Aspinwall of Mansfield doing much to promote the interest. The records of the General Assembly contain suggestive references to favors granted to promote infant industries; in 1708, the exclusive right was given to John Elliot to manufacture pitch; potash received a favor in 1743, salt in 1746, in Branford and Lyme; tar and turpentine were subjects of law from 1720, bayberry tallow in 1724; in 1732, linseed oil; bells in 1736, and glass making in 1747, when Thomas Darling of New Haven was granted exclusive right to make window glass for twenty years, provided he made five hundred feet in four years.

In 1769, Abel Buell of Killingworth established the first type foundry in America, and in the collection of petitions in the State Library is his appeal, printed with his type, asking for a lottery or cash to enable him to manufacture type. The manufacture of paper began in Norwich in 1768; the colony giving to Christopher Leffingwell a bounty of twopence a quire for writing paper, and one penny a quire for printing paper. In 1776, a paper-mill in East Hartford supplied the press at Hartford, which issued about eight thousand copies a week; and manufactured also writing paper used in the colony, together with much of that used by the Continental Congress. A bill to regulate the sale of onions dates from 1772; also a bill concerning the manufacture of ploughs in 1771. In 1776, a man asked of the legislature a loan of one hundred pounds to build a stocking factory. Inventive minds were seeking to solve the problem of perpetual motion, and asking the General Assembly for aid in achieving that brilliant exploit. It was a period of energy, enterprise, and venture—a vigorous preparation for the marvellous developments of the next century.



TO THE HONORABLE THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE COLONY OF CONNECTICUT, Convened at New-Haven the Second Thurſday of October AD 1769:

The Memorial of ABEL BUELL of Killingworth Humbly ſheweth; That your Memorialiſt having Experienc'd the Great Goodneſs of this Honorable Aſſembly, for which he Begs Leave to render his moſt Grateful Tribute of thanks, and to Aſſure them from a Grateful Senſe of their Clemency he has made it his unwearied Study to render himſelf Uſeful to the Community in which he lives and the American Colonies in general, and by his Unwearied application for a number of months paſt has Diſcover'd the Art of Letter-Founding; And as a Specimen of his abilities Preſents this Memorial Impreſs'd with the Types of his Own manufacture, and whareas by an Antient Law of this Colony, this Aſſembly were Graciouſly Pleaſed to Enact that any one who ſhould make any Uſeful Diſcoveries ſhould Receive an Encouragement there-for from this Honorable Aſſembly; and as the Manufacture of Types is but in Few hands even in EUROPE, he humbly Conceives it to be a moſt Valuable Addition to the American Manufactures, and as the Expence of erecting a Proper Foundery will be Great and beyond the abilities of your Memorialiſt, he humbly hopes for Encouragement from this Aſſembly Either by Granting him the Liberty of a Lottery for Raiſing a Sum Sufficient to enable him to carry on the ſame, or in ſome other way as to this Honorable Aſſembly may ſeem meet; and your Memorialiſt as in duty Bound ſhall ever Pray.

Abel Buell

Abel Buell's Petition for a Lottery

Facsimile of Abel Buell's petition to the Connecticut General Assembly, October, 1769. This type is believed to be the earliest type cast in America. The original is in the Connecticut State Library, Connecticut Archives, "Industry," vol. ii., Doc. 137

CHAPTER XV

EXPANSION

THE century following the grant of the charter was a season of quiet growth, during which Connecticut went steadily forward, building the institutions of a free commonwealth with judgment and energy. The charter was liberal and strong; the people thrifty, industrious, and energetic; occasions for commerce favorable; much of the soil good, and the climate stimulating. In 1680, the colonial government of Connecticut, in answer to a request of the English board of trade, sent a statement of the condition of the colony, which suggests the weakness of the colony and the sturdy hearts of the colonists. John Allyn wrote the draft of the letter, and he estimated the fighting men in *train bands* of the colony at two thousand five hundred and seven, which would imply a population of ten thousand, or five persons to the square mile. The people had "little traffique abroad," except "sending what provisions we rays to Boston, where we buy goods with it, to cloath vs." He described the country as mountainous, rocky, and swampy; most that was fit had been taken up: "what remaynes must be subdued, and gained out of the fire, as it were, by hard blowes and for small recompence." The principal towns were Hartford, New Haven, New London, and Fairfield, with twenty-six smaller towns. The buildings were of wood, stone, and brick, many of them "forty foot long and twenty broad, and some larger." The exports were farm

products, boards, staves, and horses, mainly sent to Boston, but some to the West Indies to barter "for sugar, cotton and rumme and some money." There were but twenty merchants in the colony, few servants, and about thirty slaves. Labor was scarce and dear; wages were two shillings and two and sixpence a day; provisions were cheap; beggars and tramps "were not suffered," and when found they were bound out to service. Taxable property was estimated at one hundred and ten thousand pounds; two-fifths of it being of the nature of a poll tax, and this tax was assessed according to an arbitrary schedule of wealth or position, so that it took the nature of an income tax.

In the development of new towns, one of two methods was followed: A speculator or company might buy lands from the Indians, with the approval of the General Assembly, and as soon as the rates became sufficiently large to need the extension of the Assembly's taxing power over the little community, a committee was appointed by that body to bound out the town; it was then in order to choose constables, and send delegates to the Assembly. The other process tended to become the only one, and it was as follows: the original towns were usually extensive—six to ten miles square as Wethersfield embraced Glastonbury, Rocky Hill, Newington and a part of Berlin; and persons living in remote parts finding it difficult to attend the central church, especially in winter, would ask for "winter-privileges" for a time and would have a preacher for themselves during the snowy months. When enough people could be found in a certain section to support a minister of their own, they applied to the General Assembly for permission to form a church. This usually met strong opposition from the old church, but at length the come-outers had their way; forming a church, which became a germ of a new town. A good example is Plainfield, which was settled as the *Quinnabaug Plantation*, and in 1700, becoming a town it was incorporated under the name of Plainfield, which gave as a brand for the

horses turned loose to pasture, a triangle. We are not to think that changes came in the towns, and separations of neighborhoods into new towns as gently and quietly as spring passes into summer. Such resolute men as settled Connecticut seldom neglected an occasion for debate and even controversy, when they imagined their rights threatened, or thought they could advance their interests. There was a border warfare between Plainfield and Canterbury, attended by pulling down fences and carrying off hay and grain. There were innumerable lawsuits, and nearly all the principal men of Canterbury were indicted for "stealing bales of hay," and fined ten shillings. In 1703, the General Assembly ordered a division of the territory, and in 1714, the same body ordered the following of the line established at the earlier date, thus increasing the confusion, and fanning the flames of border-ruffianism; and finally, in 1721, the limits of the contending towns were established.

From 1700, until 1745, thirty new towns were incorporated, and the growth in population was steady. In 1755, the board of trade estimated it at one hundred thousand. In 1762, all the soil of the colony had been allotted to townships, and new towns formed after that year were carved out of those already in existence. Even in the dark days of the Revolution, the energetic people continued to populate the vacant places. In 1779–80, five towns were laid out; from 1784, to 1787, twenty-one, — twelve of them in 1786. Tolland County was divided off in 1786, as Windham had been in 1726, Litchfield in 1751, and Middlesex in 1765. These, with the four original counties of Fairfield, New Haven, Hartford, and New London, made the present eight counties.

The settlement of Windham County may illustrate the way the later counties came into being. Windham County is the northwest section of the state, about eighty miles from Boston, and across it travelers toiled without halting for over half a century, regarding its broken, rock-strewn

surface, its lakes and rivers, its wild, craggy forests, miry swamps, and sandy barrens as a part of a "hideous and trackless wilderness." Large parts of it had been kept burned over by the Indians for pasturage for deer. In 1664, settlers came from Roxbury to the Nipmuck region, traveling over the Old Connecticut Path to form a town in what is now Woodstock, and on March 5, 1690, the Assembly voted to call it Woodstock, and in the following May, the first town meeting was held in the town. Two years later, a similar meeting was held in Windham, and Pomfret held a meeting before 1700; Plainfield, one in 1700; Canterbury, one in 1703, and Killingley in 1708. In Ashford, that wild, forest region, remote from civilization, yet on the Old Connecticut Path, which ran across what is now its common, the first town meeting was held in 1715. It came to pass that, during the forty years following the first settlement of that region, eight towns were formed in Windham County, and every one of them had settled "a learned and orthodox minister," and had grist mills, tanneries, the beginnings of roads, besides taverns. Money was scarce, food scanty, hard work plentiful, a conspicuous arena for the Great Awakening so soon to come, and a rich field for the builders of summer homes in recent years.

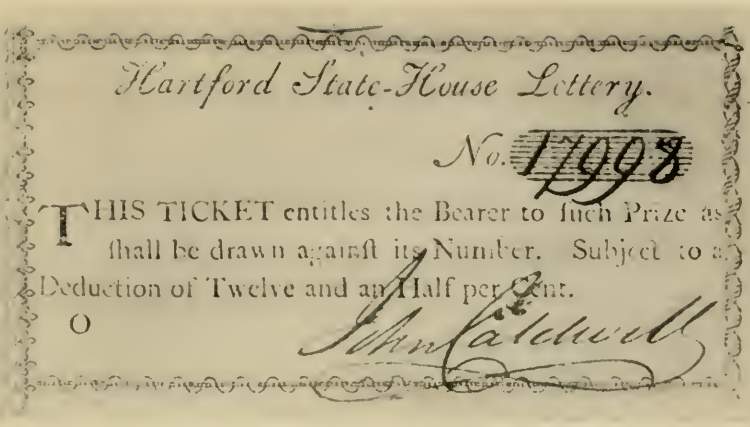
Litchfield County, so famous for its glorious scenery, learned jurists, and powerful preachers, was organized in 1751, having eleven towns, Canaan, Cornwall, Salisbury, Kent, Sharon, Torrington, Harwinton, Woodbury, New Hartford, Goshen and New Milford. This is the largest county in the state, with a gravely loam, interspersed with fertile lands, and watered by the Naugatuck, Housatonic, and Farmington rivers.

Before all the soil of the colony had been taken by settlers there was a disposition to swarm. The first effort was due to the boundary settlement of 1713–14 between Connecticut and Massachusetts. Because of concessions made by Connecticut, Massachusetts gave the sister colony sixty

thousand acres of her western lands. Some of these were in Vermont, though believed to be in Massachusetts. Private parties bought them, and the erection of Fort Dummer in 1729, gave some promise of protection. New York claimed the whole territory under the grant to the Duke of York, but the Connecticut colonists carried with them the system of town government with which they were familiar, and asserted their "independence and unbridled democracy." When the territory became a state in 1777, it took the title of *New Connecticut*, the name Vermont being substituted during the year—a triumph for the Connecticut town system. The way Vermont was settled is also suggested by names of towns found in that state, such as Hartford, Wethersfield, and Windsor. Vermont may be thought of as a child of Litchfield County. Ethan Allen was born at Litchfield in 1739; when thirty years old he moved to what was then known as *New Hampshire Grants*, but is now Vermont, and became a vigorous opponent of the encroachments of New York. Seth Warner, born in Roxbury, Connecticut, in 1743, settled at Bennington, and with Allen became one of the active *Green Mountain Boys*, resisting New York encroachments and valiant in the Revolution. The first governor of Vermont was from Litchfield County, and in later times three other governors, three United States senators, and one chief justice. Forty-five of her governors have been natives of Connecticut; twenty-one of her Supreme Court judges, and eleven of her United States senators.

The expansion of the colony westward was encouraged by the fact that the charter bounds extended to the Pacific Ocean. When the Plymouth council gave up its charter in 1635, it notified the king that the grant was "through all the mainland, from sea to sea, being near about three thousand miles in length." The geographers in England knew also that the Connecticut grant was three thousand miles long, though no one dreamed then of pressing the claim be-

yond the Mississippi River to lands owned by the Spanish, but Connecticut did think that she owned the northern two-fifths of Pennsylvania. Soon after the charter was granted, Charles gave his brother James the Dutch colony of New Netherland, thus interfering with the continuity of Connecticut. In 1681, Charles gave William Penn a grant of Pennsylvania, which took from the Connecticut strip the northern coal, iron, and oil fields. In 1753, a movement was made to colonize the Wyoming Country as the Pennsylvania section was called: it started in Windham County. In 1754, the Susquehanna Company was formed with nearly seven hundred members, of whom six hundred and thirty-eight were of Connecticut. Their agents made a treaty with the Five Nations, July 11, 1754, by which they secured for two thousand pounds a tract of land, beginning at the forty-first degree of latitude, the southern boundary of Connecticut; thence running north, following the line of the Susquehanna to the present northern boundary of Pennsylvania; thence one hundred and twenty miles west; thence south to the forty-first degree, and back to the point of beginning. The General Assembly of Connecticut acquiesced, provided that the king approved. Pennsylvania objected, but the company sent out surveyors and plotted the tract. Settlement began on the Delaware River in 1757, and in the Susquehanna purchase in 1762. There were conflicts between the settlers and the Pennsylvania men; the number of Connecticut men increased to some three thousand. The Connecticut Assembly passed a resolution in 1771, maintaining the claim of its colony to its charter limits west of the Delaware. In 1774, it raised the Susquehanna district into a town, under the name of Westmoreland, making it a part of Litchfield County, and its deputies took their places in the Connecticut legislature. In 1776, Westmoreland was made a distinct county. Connecticut laws and taxes were enforced regularly; Connecticut courts alone were in session there; the levies from the district


Hartford State-House Lottery.

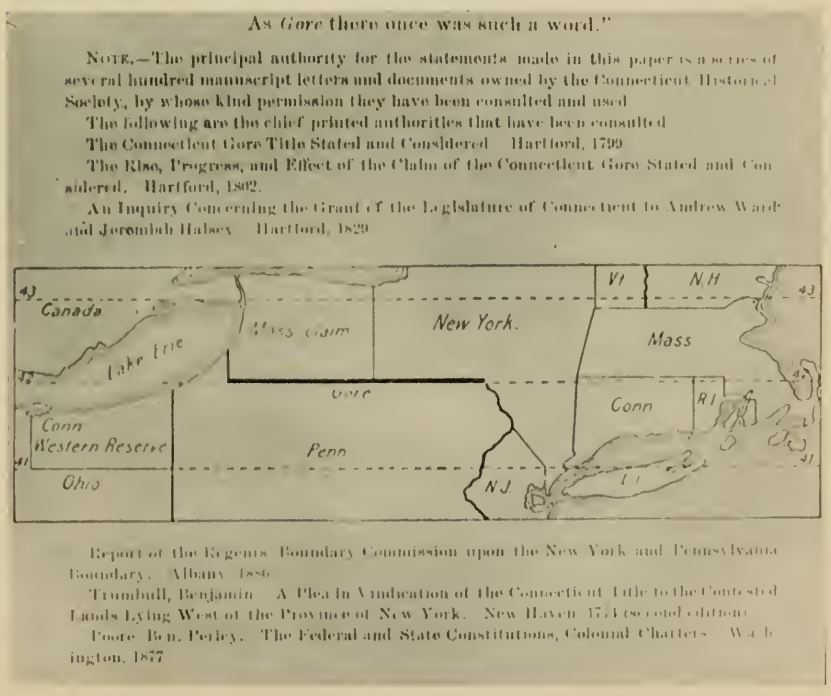
No. 1998

THIS TICKET entitles the Bearer to such Prize as shall be drawn against its Number. Subject to a Deduction of Twelve and an Half per Cent.

John Caldwell

Ticket of a Lottery to Build the Bulfinch State-House. The Original is Owned by George S. Goddard

At the May session, 1793, the General Assembly granted a lottery to raise £5000 lawful money for erecting and completing the State House at Hartford, and appointed Messrs. John Chester, Noadiah Hooker, John Caldwell, John Morgan, John Trumbull, or any two of them, managers. Owing to circumstances the lottery was not productive


As *Gore* there once was such a word."

NOTE.—The principal authority for the statements made in this paper is a series of several hundred manuscript letters and documents owned by the Connecticut Historical Society, by whose kind permission they have been consulted and used

The following are the chief printed authorities that have been consulted

The Connecticut Gore Title Stated and Considered Hartford, 1799

The Rise, Progress, and Effect of the Claim of the Connecticut Gore Stated and Considered. Hartford, 1802.

An Inquiry Concerning the Grant of the Legislature of Connecticut to Andrew Ward and Jeremiah Halsey Hartford, 1829

Report of the Regents Boundary Commission upon the New York and Pennsylvania Boundary. Albany 1886

Trumbull, Benjamin A Plea in Vindication of the Connecticut Title to the Contested Lands Lying West of the Province of New York. New Haven 1774 (second edition)

Poore, Ben. Perley. The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters Washington, 1877

The Connecticut Land Gore

From *The Connecticut Land Gore Company*, by Albert C. Bates

formed the twenty-fourth Connecticut regiment in the Continental armies. In July, 1778, after the Continental Congress had refused to allow the men from Westmoreland in the army to return home, a band of tories and Indians under John Butler and Joseph Brandt, fell upon the defenseless settlement. The old men and boys mustered, and fought until half their number was cut down. The women and children were spared for the greater horrors of the overland retreat to Connecticut, and the new county disappeared. Detached parties returning from time to time, gathered slight crops, under danger from the Indians, but Westmoreland County was no more. When the articles of confederation went into force, a court was appointed to settle the Susquehanna or Wyoming dispute. Connecticut asked for time to get papers from England, but was overruled by Congress, which ordered the court to meet at Trenton. The unanimous decision was that Wyoming belonged to Pennsylvania. The Wyoming settlers had a hard time for years, being deserted by their own state, and left to the mercy of rival claimants. The old Susquehanna Company reorganized in 1785–86, but there were dissensions between the first settlers and the newcomers, and in 1799, Pennsylvania passed an act to allow actual settlers to retain their lands, thus there came to be a large infusion of Connecticut blood in Pennsylvania. Had it not been for the Revolution, Connecticut might have retained the Wyoming country; as it was, the dreams of Westmoreland faded, and the state is restricted to the present territory.

This seems to be the place to speak of the Connecticut Gore Land Company. In May, 1792, five citizens of Hartford were appointed to build "a large and convenient State House," and owing to a scarcity of money, the Assembly in May, 1793, voted that the committee be allowed to hold the *Hartford State House Lottery*. Tickets to the number of twenty-six thousand six hundred and sixty-seven were issued at five dollars a ticket. Twelve and a half per

cent. was set apart for the prizes, which ranged from ten to eight thousand dollars. Two years dragged by with small sales of the tickets; the lottery was a failure. The money contributed by the state for the new building having been expended, the work was at a standstill, when, in May, 1794, Jeremiah Halsey and Andrew Ward of Guilford proposed that the state deed to them the Gore west of the Delaware River, that they might sell the land in foreign markets, offering to share the proceeds with the state. On July 25, 1795, Samuel Huntington, the governor, executed a deed, releasing the land to the men mentioned above. The Gore was a strip of land, two and a third miles wide and two hundred and forty-five miles long, and it came into possession of Connecticut in this way. The Plymouth Company, in 1628, sold to an association of Massachusetts Bay all New England from the Atlantic ocean to the South Sea, between the parallels three miles north of the Merrimack River and three miles south of the Charles River, "or of any or every part thereof." The Connecticut charter described its northern boundary as the southern of Massachusetts. The question as to the boundary between Connecticut and Massachusetts, as we have seen in an earlier chapter, was long in controversy: In 1642, the Massachusetts surveyors placed it at forty-one degrees fifty-five minutes north latitude, and in 1695, Connecticut surveyors placed it at forty-two degrees north, or a difference of two miles and a third, and thus the strip of two and a third by two hundred and forty-five miles, west of New York, became known as the *Gore.* After receiving the deed, Ward and Halsey offered fifty thousand acres for sale, and the value of the land rose as farms were bought. New York interfered, and the courts supported the Connecticut Gore Land Company, but in the deal between the United States government and Connecticut, whereby the latter gave up all claims on western lands, on condition that it receive the Connecticut Reserve, the Gore was ceded to the United States and to the individual states.

Meanwhile the statehouse had been finished; shares in the Gore Company dropped to nothing; in 1805–08, Connecticut paid it forty thousand dollars and the Gore became a dim tradition.

In return for its surrender of its claims on western lands, the United States Government gave to Connecticut a tract about the size of Wyoming in the western part of Ohio, which became known as the Western Reserve of Connecticut, and it contained about three million three hundred thousand acres, the settlement of which was not attempted until after the passage of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, which was the beginning of government under territorial system. The authorship of that Ordinance has usually been attributed to Nathan Dane of Massachusetts, but Manasseh Cutler of Killingley, minister, doctor, scientist, and diplomat, had decided influence in Congress as he talked of the interests of Ohio with brilliant persuasiveness, insisting that slavery should be excluded, and provision made for a university. Indian hostilities delayed the settlement of the Reserve, but after Anthony Wayne's campaign in 1794, toilers on the rocky farms of Connecticut sighed for the mellow soil of Ohio, and in 1795, the General Assembly passed an ordinance, approving the sale of the land, and entrusting it to eight men, one from every county. The section was divided into twelve hundred thousand shares, and Oliver Phelps, a native of Windsor, led the enterprise, opening an office in Canandaigua—the first in the country for sale of forest lands to settlers. Moses Cleaveland of Canterbury, magnetic, able, decisive, and patriotic, was selected as agent of the company. Cleaveland, whose name will always be associated with the city of that name, after service in the Revolution, and taking his degree from Yale, opened a law office in Canterbury and won a high place among the able lawyers of Windham County. The winter of 1795–96 was one of active preparation for the migration. Augustus Porter, a surveyor, a native of Connecticut, after

seven seasons of laying out lands in western New York, was well fitted to conduct the expedition. Six weeks carried the party to Lake Ontario, and the portage around Niagara Falls was wearisome. On the site of Buffalo, a conference was held with Red Jacket of the Six Nations, the stalwart form, martial air, together with the curt but courteous address of General Cleaveland won the admiration and confidence of the Indians. The payment of twelve hundred and fifty dollars in goods secured from the chiefs a formal relinquishment of their claim to land in the Western Reserve, and the expedition embarked on Lake Erie. On July 4, the twentieth anniversary of American Independence, they landed at a place they christened Fort Independence, and celebrated, by salutes for New Connecticut. Toasts were given and the day "closed with three cheers. Drank several pails of grog, supped, and retired in remarkable good order." A few more days of coasting brought the party to Cuyahoga River, where a landing was effected. After climbing to a broad plateau, and gazing upon the blue waters of the lake and the wide plain, General Cleaveland said: "This shall be the site of our city. Here we will lay the foundation of the metropolis of our Reserve." It was a sun-burned, travel-stained company of men that stood there that July day, a fitting beginning for the city of Cleaveland, and the development of great business and educational interests of the Western Reserve. The census of 1850 shows that twenty-three thousand of the Ohio people were from Connecticut, and nineteen thousand from Massachusetts.

Few other men in American history have accomplished results of greater importance than Moses Austin and his son Steven, in planning and carrying into execution the making of Anglo-American Texas. It was a venturesome family. Elijah served in the Revolution, and was the first to fit out a ship for China. Moses, brother of Elijah, was born in Durham, in 1764; he established at St. Genevieve, Mis-

souri, the first mines west of the Mississippi; he planted an Anglo-American colony in the rich wastes of Texas. Steven Austin, the son, took up the work; both father and son builded better than they knew, and are highly honored as noble founders of the Lone Star State.

In 1666, Philip Carteret, the new governor of East Jersey, arrived, and he sent agents at once to New England, to publish the terms offered to settlers, and invite them to his lands. The offer was liberal, and, in the following year, a committee from Guilford, Milford, and Branford was sent ahead to look over the country, to learn more exactly of the offer, and discover how friendly were the Indians. The reply was favorable, and the word passed to buy a township, select a site and arrange for settlement. Soon thirty families were on the way by boat from New Haven to Newark. On reaching the spot selected, delegates were appointed to form a government, and true to the principles of the New Haven colony, no one was allowed to vote or hold office, unless he was a member of a Congregational church. A typical pioneer was James Kilburn of Granby, who in 1802, formed a company with seven associates to move to the Northwest Territory; Kilburn going ahead to explore. In 1803, a schoolhouse, log church, blacksmith shop, and twelve cabins were built in Worthington, Ohio, and a hundred persons had arrived. The first Episcopal church in the state was formed there, and in 1817, Worthington College, of which James Kilburn became president. He also went to the legislature and to Congress, and he formed an early abolition society. Many of the first settlers in Ohio showed their origin, naming their towns Kent, Ashland, and Lebanon.

Of eighteen early governors of Wisconsin, four were born in Connecticut, whose pioneers were not apt to stop in Indiana, for the southern element was strong there, and the Virginian and Kentuckian were in danger of confusing the unscrupulous Yankee peddler with the substantial Yankee farmer, treating both alike.

Connecticut people usually knew exactly whither they were going, and they moved in large numbers to Long Island, New Jersey, New York, New Hampshire, Vermont, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Michigan. The school system of Michigan was carried bodily to Wisconsin. They were *great movers*, and at Collinsville, Illinois, opposite St. Louis, the three Collins brothers from Litchfield established a town in 1817. They used the same horse-power for a distillery, sawmill, cooper-shop, blacksmith and carpenter shop; built, in 1818, a union meeting-house, which was also used as public school and Sunday School, and their father became the first substantial contributor to Illinois College. From 1676, to 1713, Connecticut expanded more rapidly and emigrated more widely than any other New England colony, and the descendants of this state are found from New Hampshire to Michigan.

CHAPTER XVI

EDUCATION

SINCE the leaders in the settlement of Connecticut were men of trained intelligence and energy, they began as soon as possible to lay the foundations of a school system, and Hartford was three years old when John Higginson opened a school there. There must have been a school in New Haven that year, for a record of the Court says that Thomas Fugill was required to keep Charles Higginson at school for one year. Christmas, 1641, New Haven colony ordered that a free school be started in town, and John Davenport was requested to ascertain the amount of money which would be required to support it, and to draw up rules for it. In 1644, the legislature of Connecticut established a school system, and Lord Macaulay, in a famous address in Parliament in 1847, eulogized the fact that "exiles living in the wilderness should grasp and practice the principle that the state should take upon itself the education of the people." As in all the other colonies there was need of schools, for the greater part of the people had little education when they came hither, and some of the most active of the proprietors could not write their names. Eight of the first thirty-five that settled Norwich, as appears from inspection of deeds and conveyances, affixed their marks, yet among them were townsmen, deacons, and constables.

The mode adopted was like that with which the colo-

nists had been familiar in England—the method of town control—and the duty was laid upon the local authorities to establish schools, and to work with parents in the endeavor "not to suffer so much barbarism in any of the families as to have a single child or apprentice unable to read the holy word of God, and the good laws of the colony; and to bring them up to some lawful calling or employment." Every town of fifty families was required to maintain a school in which "reading and wrighting" should be taught, and in every town of one hundred households a grammar school should be supported, and if any town failed to have a grammar school it was required to contribute to a neighboring school. In 1658, the law was modified to read thirty families instead of fifty, and in 1672, it was ordered that in place of the requirement that there should be a grammar school in every town with one hundred families, every county town should have a grammar school, with teachers competent to prepare for college. There were then four county towns, Hartford, New Haven, New London, and Fairfield, and the law continued for a century and a quarter. In the early time the studies were few but the terms were long, for in 1677, it was ordered that the school year be at least nine months in duration, but in 1690, the time required was reduced to six months in a year. Evidently the laws to promote universal education were evaded, for in 1690, the legislature passed the vote that since there were "many persons unable to read the English tongue . . . the grand jury men in each towne doe once in the year at least, vissit each famaly they susspect to neglect this order . . . and if they finde any such children and servants not taught as theire yeares are capeable of . . . they shall be fyned twenty shillings for each offence." There was the beginning of a new era in the history of education in Connecticut in 1700, the year in which was established the "Collegiate School," which became Yale College. In that year was completed a revision of the laws, in which it was ordered that every

town having seventy householders should have "a sufficient school master to teach children and youth to read and write," and this school should be in session for eleven months in the year; also that every town with a less number than seventy households should have a "sufficient school master to teach for one half the year." The first mention of committees is in 1702. The clergy, authorized by the legislature, were the committee, visiting the schools to see that the catechism was thoroughly learned and religion drilled in. The custom of appointing a separate school committee crystallized into a law in 1750, when provision was made for the appointment of such officers.

The change from the town to the parish system was made in 1712, when it was enacted that all the parishes, which were already made, or afterwards should be made, should be provided with funds for maintaining schools within their limits. At first the parishes were school districts of the towns, but in 1760, the societies began to organize as educational areas, often coterminous with towns. As population increased, the school districts multiplied, and in 1776, there were seventy-three towns and one hundred and ninety societies, every society having a definite territory. In 1717, societies were authorized to choose clerks and committees, and levy taxes, and these powers placed them on nearly the same footing as towns. In 1766, it was enacted that "each town and society shall have full power and authority to divide themselves into proper and necessary districts, for keeping their schools, and to alter and regulate the same from time to time as they shall have occasion." Another step was taken in 1794, when it was enacted that "the several school districts . . . shall have power and authority to tax themselves for the purpose of building and repairing a school house . . . to choose a clerk . . . and to appoint a collector." From 1797, to 1839, committees were appointed for the districts by the town or society, after that they appointed

their own committees. A law passed in 1795, referred to the parishes or ecclesiastical societies "in their capacity of school societies," giving for the first time this title, and in 1798, the care of schools was transferred entirely from the towns to the school societies, with which it remained till 1856, when towns chose their system. During that period a school society might include a whole town, a part of a town, or parts of two or more towns, and all the business concerning schools was under its care. This system came about naturally, for the original towns were very large. After a time the dwellers in new communities petitioned for permission to form new parishes, and it was found convenient to manage the schools in those districts through the church organization. At length these societies became separate towns, and thus they prepared the way for a return to the town method. The act of 1798, perfected the old system; every society was given power to appoint a suitable number of persons (not to exceed nine) to be visitors, "to examine, approve and dismiss school teachers, and appoint public exercises." County towns were no longer required to maintain a Latin school, but every society might institute a school of a higher order.

Before giving an account of the later development of public means of education, we must speak of the School Fund, which has played such a part in Connecticut schools. The funds to support public schools have been derived from several sources—taxes, tuition fees, and the income of invested funds. Taxation and tuition fees were resorted to from earliest times, the first school in New Haven being maintained wholly by taxes. Hartford guaranteed the teacher's salary, though a part, if not the whole, was expected from tuition fees, the town making up any deficiency, and paying for those who were unable to pay for themselves. The code of 1650, provided that the teachers' "wages shall be paid either by the parents or masters of children, or by the inhabitants in general." The New Haven code of 1656,

provided that one-third be paid by the town in general, and the other two-thirds "by them who have benefite thereof." In 1677, a new step was taken when it was ordered that the teacher should be paid by taxation, "except any town shall agree upon som other way to rayse the mayntenance of him they shall imploy in the afoarsayd worke." The revision of 1700, ordered that a tax of forty shillings to a thousand pounds be levied on all property for schools, and if that proved insufficient, one half of the deficit should be made up "by the inhabitants of such town, and the other half by the parents or masters of the children that go to the school." This law remained in force until 1820. In 1754, the rate was cut from forty to ten shillings on the thousand pounds. In 1766, it was raised to twenty shillings, then to forty shillings, and after fifty years it was abolished. In 1837, Connecticut received from the United States Treasury $763,661, its share of the Town Deposit Fund.

There are special invested funds as sources of income, and the first of these was the gift of Edward Hopkins to Hartford and New Haven, and of Robert Bartlett of New London, funds used for schools of a high order. A large part of the funds belonging to towns and societies was derived from the *Western Lands* so called, in the northwestern corner of the state. When Sir Edmund Andros was endeavoring to obtain control of the colony, a special session of the legislature was held January 26, 1687, to take measures to defeat Sir Edmund's purposes, and the public lands, that had not been previously sold or granted, were disposed of at that session, and more than half of what is now Litchfield County was given to Hartford and Windsor. After the Andros trouble was over, those towns proceeded to sell the lands, and of course a controversy arose between them and the colony, and this contest continued until 1731, when it was decided to divide the land into two parts, and have the colony take the western half and the towns the eastern. In 1733, the colony ordered that the seven towns, into which

the western territory was divided, be sold, and the money received for them be given to the towns already settled, according to the polls and ratable estates, to be set apart by each town as a permanent fund. It is not known how much was realized by the sale, but Salisbury was sold for nearly seven thousand pounds, and Kent for more than twelve hundred. Another source of school funds was from an act passed in 1766, granting the arrears of excise on liquors, tea, and other goods, but the main school fund was gained by the sale of lands in Ohio. As stated elsewhere the charter of Charles II., in 1662, conveyed a tract extending from Narragansett Bay on the east to the South Sea on the west. In 1681, Charles II. gave to William Penn the charter of Pennsylvania, the northern part of which had been given to Connecticut. After emigration had made the territory valuable, Connecticut asserted her claim; in 1774, and for eight years after, the settlers on the Susquehanna sent representatives to the Connecticut legislature, established schools, and paid taxes like other citizens of the state. The controversy over that region was decided in 1782, in favor of Pennsylvania. Though the title of Connecticut to lands west of Pennsylvania had never been questioned, and it was not practicable to attempt to control a slender strip of land, only seventy miles wide and extending nearly one eighth of the circumference of the globe, in 1786 the General Assembly authorized the delegates in Congress to convey to the United States all lands belonging to Connecticut, lying west of a line parallel to, and one hundred and twenty miles west of, Pennsylvania. The offer was accepted, and the lands within one hundred and twenty miles of Pennsylvania became known as the *Western Reserve* and sometimes as the *New Connecticut.*

In 1792, the General Assembly granted a tract of five hundred thousand acres, extending across the western end of the reservation as a compensation for the losses inflicted by the British army in the Revolution on the towns along

the Sound, from Greenwich to Groton. The tract thus given was afterwards called the *Fire Lands* or the *Sufferers' Lands*. In 1793, a committee of one from every county was appointed to sell those lands, and then came a warm discussion as to what should be done with the proceeds. In 1795, it was voted to put the money into a permanent fund for the use of schools, and under the control of the people in the different school societies; a few months later, the land was sold for one million two hundred thousand dollars, payable in five years. Interest was allowed to accumulate until 1799, when sixty thousand dollars was distributed on the basis of polls and ratable estates. In 1800, the care of the fund was assigned to a commission of four, whose unfitness threatened the fund, and James Hillhouse was appointed commissioner of it. In fifteen years it rose to one million seven hundred and nineteen thousand dollars, and more than three-quarters of a million had been divided among the school societies. The effect of this annual distribution of fifty or sixty thousand dollars was injurious in most towns, for it led to a decreasing taxation for the schools and a decrease of interest in education, and since High Schools were no longer obligatory, they were seldom organized. The state allowance of two dollars on every thousand raised by the towns was a feeble spur; in many towns the stipend from the School Fund was doled out at a starvation rate, giving a few weeks in winter and a short term in summer, and when the money was gone the door of the schoolhouse was locked. A short-sighted economy possessed the state, and since the schools cost little they were slightly esteemed and rapidly declined. They had been the pride of the state and the wonder of the land, and for a time after they waned, some who looked at them from afar applauded. A Kentucky legislator declared in 1822, "The Connecticut system has become an example for other states, and the admiration of the Union." The schools grew poorer; schoolhouses more dilapidated; the earlier method of having six months' and even

eleven months' schooling in a year gave way to the limit of the elasticity of the meager public money, which for forty years was distributed on no other condition than that it should be used for schools. There was a spasm of awakening interest now and then; a bill was passed in 1810, which provided that the expense of the district schools, above that received from the School Fund, should be met by a tax on each proprietor according to the number of days his pupil or pupils attended school. In 1813, a bill passed the legislature to compel proprietors of factories to have all working for them trained to read, write, and cipher, with a glance at their morals, in which the selectmen were to help.

Fervid imagination and Yankee pride have combined to halo the *Little Red Schoolhouse* with a glory mingled with sentimental pathos; and there have been in some of them teachers of power and inspiration, who would have taught just as well had they been paid according to their deserts, and if the schoolhouses had been less meagerly furnished. At length, public sentiment awoke, and in 1830, a convention of teachers complained of the indifference of parents; in 1836, Governor Edwards deplored the quality of the teachers, and in 1838, school conditions were investigated, with the result that the citizens were declared to be lacking in interest, school visitors neglectful, and teachers inefficient. Wage of men teachers was fourteen and a half dollars per month, and of women five and three-quarters. More than six thousand children of school ages were not in attendance. Changes for the better rapidly followed the report: a bill for the better supervision was passed; the *Connecticut Common School Journal* was founded; in 1849, a state normal school was established in New Britain under the auspices of Henry Barnard, who was aided by the coöperation of Mrs. Emma Hart Willard. In 1855, a vote was passed to enable a town to have a school of a higher grade; in 1865, the state board of education was organized, and in 1868, the town tax was increased enough to make schools free. The

length of school required as the condition for obtaining the public money was fixed at four months in 1841, six months in 1855, and in 1870, it was voted that public schools be maintained for at least thirty weeks in a year in every school district in which the number of pupils between four and sixteen was twenty-four or more, and for twenty-four weeks in all others, but that there should be no schools in districts in which the number of children fell below eight pupils.

In 1839, the powers of the school districts were greatly enlarged, and they were declared *bodies corporate*, so far as to be able to purchase, receive, hold, and convey property, and make all lawful arrangements for the management of schools such as taxation, providing rooms, and employing teachers. In 1866–69, it was voted that any town might abolish all school districts and maintain a central school—an entering wedge for the act of 1909, which declared that after July of that year, every town must be a school district, with a committee having the power of district committee and school visitors, except in a few towns organized under special acts of the legislature. Thus there was a return to the early town management. In 1897, it was voted that any town in which a High School was not maintained, should pay the whole or part of the tuition fee of any child residing with his parents in said town, and should have the written consent of the school visitors or committee to attend a High School in another town. In 1905, a law was passed requiring a committee or visitors, discovering any child over fourteen and under sixteen with insufficient schooling, to notify the parents or guardians, who should cause him to attend school. In 1907, it was voted by the Assembly that any town may direct the visitors, committee, or board of education to purchase, at the expense of the town, text-books and other supplies used in the public schools, to be loaned to the pupils free of charge. Ten years before, it was voted that towns should supply pupils incapable of buying books. Of late years much attention has been given to the subject of

libraries in the schools, and the state appropriates certain sums of money to them, on condition that the towns do their part. There are also loan libraries in circulation. It was voted in 1909, that a town shall insist, by transportation or otherwise, on schooling for every child over seven and under sixteen. Provision has also been made of late for the medical examination of children, and it has been ordered that hygiene, including the effect of alcohol on health and character, shall be taught as a regular branch of study.

In no other state is there a more rigid enforcement of attendance and employment laws. Rural supervision is of decided service in country towns. The passing of the corporate districts into the town system is a long step in advance. There are manual training departments in some High Schools, and in 1907, fifty thousand dollars was appropriated for trade schools, committing the state to the policy of public instruction in trades. Among the New England states Connecticut is second to no other in liberal provision for education; the school fund of more than two millions, with an annual income of one hundred and ten thousand dollars, ceased long ago to provoke a false economy, and is a decided benefit. The Normal Schools at Danbury, New Britain, New Haven, and Willimantic have a total of nearly eight hundred pupils, and graduate annually nearly three hundred teachers, though this does not supply the waste. The purpose of the Trade Schools is to "equip that large number of children who must work in the skilled trades with the primary essentials and practical principles of their trades," and the demand for this education far exceeds the facilities of the schools now in operation in Bridgeport and in New Britain. There are classes both in the day and evening, and the subjects treated are: machine work, carpentry work, pattern making, sewing, including dressmaking, printing, plumbing, and drawing. Evening schools are conducted in forty towns,

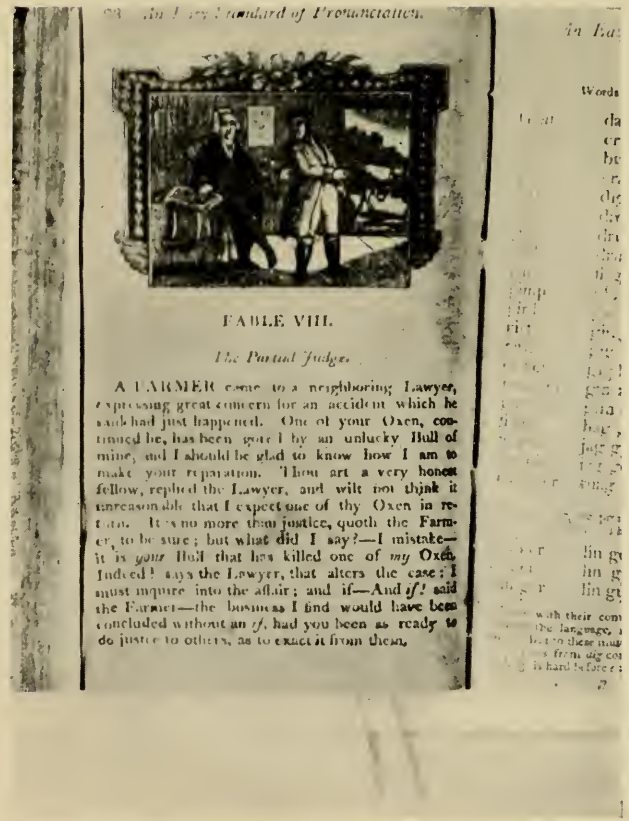
with a registration of over ten thousand pupils, and the number attending the one hundred and fifty-three kindergartens is over eleven thousand. In ninety-one towns children are conveyed to a central school with general satisfaction to all concerned. The elimination of the district system, referred to on an earlier page, is a return to the early town management of schools, and hastens the escape from the antiquated conservatism, the penurious extravagance of the district school system, which seemed necessary for the time, but is now as much out of date as are stage-coaches and spinning-wheels. An elaborate system of supervision has been organized by grouping towns, and thirty-four supervisors are at work, responsible to the state board of education; besides these many towns have their own supervisors. This tends to greater efficiency. It is coming to be recognized by the intelligent that local management in districts is apt to be attended by injustice and injury to pupils; that many do not receive adequate attention, when several grades gather in a miserable room, with antiquated equipment, underpaid teachers, and an unscientific and haphazard course of studies. The movement from the condition in which the state lingered for years is slow. In a hundred towns there are over three hundred schools with an average attendance of less than twelve. Changes come gradually in the land of steady habits. The vigorous community life, so prominent in the towns, which in some ways have been little commonwealths, has fostered a conservatism, if not a self-satisfaction, which sometimes fails to see that methods, which were the only ones available in the sparsely settled colony, have been outgrown, and that the schools need to be standardized in grades, studies, and books, for the sake of efficiency, economy, and the easy passage of pupils from school to school. The recent complete change of system, the valuable work of the state board of education and the deepening interest are putting Connecticut into the front ranks in public school education.

We pass now to the history of the instruction in the public schools. In early times they were primitive, and were taught in the winter by men, and the larger boys attended, and sometimes matched their strength with the master's; the summer schools were attended only by the younger children, and were taught by women and girls. The seats were hard; the desks rude, but elaborately decorated by the versatile jackknife. Until the Revolution, about the only books in the hands of the pupils were the Bible, the New England Primer, with its doleful pictures, and the spelling-book. The younger children had the famous "horn-book," shaped somewhat like a fan; it was a thin board with a handle, and through the horn which covered the board there could be seen the alphabet and Lord's Prayer. Arithmetic to the "Rule of Three" was taught, and the one text-book was in the hands of the teacher, who dictated rules and examples from it. The first geography for schools was not published until 1784. There were no maps or charts or blackboards. English grammar received scanty attention, and it would seem that the spelling-book was neglected, judging from the ingenious literary samples that have come down to us, of which we may take as a fair specimen the indorsement on Governor Bradford's *History of Plymouth Colony* by his grandson, Samuel Bradford, which reads as follows:

This book was rit by goefner William Bradford, and gifen to his son mager John Bradford, rit by me Samuel Bradford, Mach. 20, 1705.

Teachers wrote copies for penmanship and mended the goose-quills. There is an interesting letter from President Humphrey to Henry Barnard concerning schools between 1790, and 1800, in which he says:

Our school books were the Bible and Webster's Spelling Book; one or two others were found in some schools for the reading

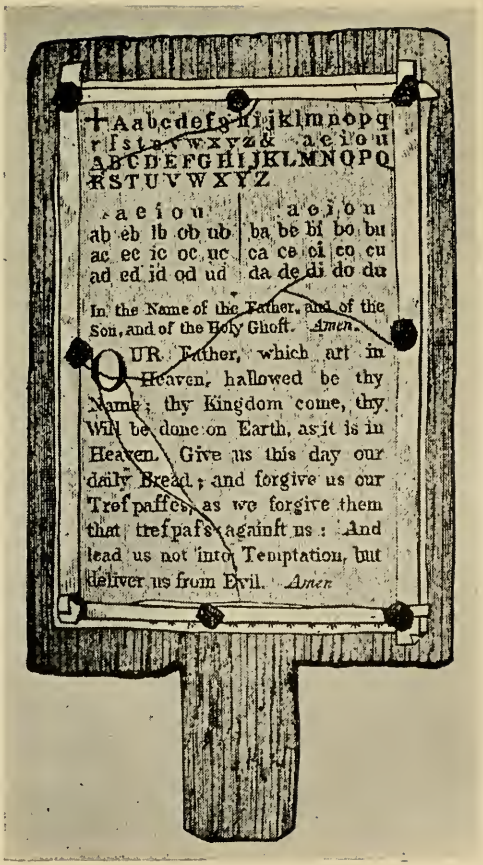


FABLE VIII.

The Partial Judge.

A FARMER came to a neighboring Lawyer, expressing great concern for an accident which he said had just happened. One of your Oxen, continued he, has been gored by an unlucky Bull of mine, and I should be glad to know how I am to make your reparation. Thou art a very honest fellow, replied the Lawyer, and wilt not think it unreasonable that I expect one of thy Oxen in return. It's no more than justice, quoth the Farmer, to be sure; but what did I say?—I mistake—it is *your* Bull that has killed one of *my* Oxen. Indeed! says the Lawyer, that alters the case: I must inquire into the affair; and if—And *if!* said the Farmer—the business I find would have been concluded without an *if*, had you been as ready to do justice to others, as to exact it from them.

A Page of Webster's Speller. The Volume Is in the Watkinson Library



The Horn Book

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classes—grammar was hardly taught at all in any of them, and that little was confined almost entirely to committing and reciting rules. Parsing was one of the occult sciences of my day; we had some few lessons in geography by questions and answers, but no maps, no globes, and as for blackboards, such a thing was not thought of until long after. Children's reading and picturebooks we had none, the fables in Webster's Spelling Book came nearest to them. Arithmetic was hardly taught at all in the day schools; as a substitute, there were some evening schools in most of the districts. Spelling was one of the exercises in most of the districts.

A very early book was the Dilworth speller, an English work, with many terms not fitted to American life. It was an epoch in education when, in 1783, appeared the first of a series of three books by Noah Webster. He wrote:

In the year 1782, while the American army was lying on the banks of the Hudson, I kept a classical school in Goshen, N. Y. I there compiled two small elementary books for teaching the English language. The country was impoverished, intercourse with Great Britain was interrupted, school books were scarce and scarcely obtainable, and there was no certain prospect of peace.

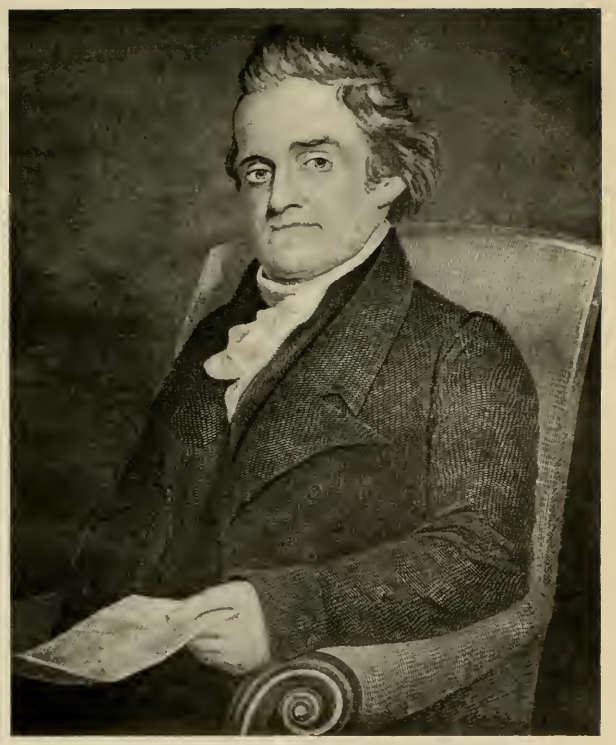
The first of Webster's school-books to appear was the speller, through which the author gave to the country a uniform language. It sold in such numbers that, by 1847, twenty-four million copies had been disposed of, and by 1870, forty millions. In 1785, Webster issued a grammar, and in 1787, a reader. Another school-book by a Connecticut man was a geography published by Jedediah Morse of Woodstock in 1784—the first of its kind in America; in 1789, he issued a valuable work called the *American Geography* and, in 1812, there appeared an encyclopedia of knowledge by the same author. In one of his geographies Morse said of the trans-Mississippi region, "It has been supposed that all settlers who go beyond the Mississippi will be forever lost

to the United States." In 1827, Jesse Olney of Union published his *Atlas-Geography*, which was popular through the country, with a circulation of eighty thousand copies. In 1796, Thomas Hubbard of Norwich published an introduction to arithmetic for use in the public schools, in the preface of which is a statement which must have cheered the young folks, for he said, "I have omitted fractions, not because I think them useless, but because they are not absolutely necessary." The most widely used arithmetic was by Daboll, who was born in Groton in 1750. This work, called *The Schoolmaster's Assistant*, stood for years in the front rank with Webster's Speller. A new era in the study of Latin was created by Ethan A. Andrews, a native of New Britain, by his Latin-English lexicon and his text-books; so complete and scholarly was his work that the lexicon became a standard, and the *First Lessons in Latin* reached thirty-four editions.

The education of girls was for years as scanty as that for boys, and in the second generation there were daughters of men in important positions who could not write their names, though in many towns the schoolmistress taught the children to behave, ply the needle through the mysteries of hemming, overhand, stitching, and darning, up to the sampler, and to read from spelling-book to the Psalter; laying emphasis on sitting up straight, conquering the spelling-book, never telling a lie, and being mannerly, especially to the minister, whose monthly round to catechize gave him an opportunity to chide the careless. Punishments were severe, and some fathers repeated at home the strokes given in school. A famous New London teacher had two strips of board, joined together by a hinge, in which the fingers of mischievous children were pinched, and the birch was a favorite form of torture,—a good training for tormenting witches, and suggestive attendants of a stern theology.

The decadence of the public schools after the Revolution led to the forming of many private schools, usually called

Henry Barnard (1811–1900)



Noah Webster (1758–1843) Born in West Hartford. Celebrated as Author of Dictionary and School Books

From a Steel Engraving

academies, a name probably borrowed from an essay published by Franklin in 1749, and Franklin says that he was indebted to Defoe, who, in 1697, had urged the building of schools like the academies of France and Spain. The old academy at Lebanon was one of the earliest of the schools, which for half a century furnished the highest education that three-fourths of the young men received. One of the earliest and best of these was the school at Greenfield Hill, conducted by Timothy Dwight, 1783–96, and it was one of the earliest coeducational schools in the country. Academies differed from the High School in that they were designed for all the young people in the neighborhood, gathering picked boys and girls from twenty towns and often at greatest sacrifice; going to school for study there was little difficulty in maintaining discipline. The grammar school in Fairfield was succeeded in 1781, by the Staples Academy, and three years later the first academy in Windham County was chartered for Plainfield; in 1816, it had a fund of eight hundred and thirty-four dollars, with eighty pupils. Not to be outdone by her neighbor, an academy was chartered for Woodstock in 1802, and built by the voluntary subscriptions and labor of neighbors; a fund of ten thousand dollars was secured, putting the school on a firm basis. In 1802, the Berlin Academy was incorporated, and eleven years later, the Bacon Academy at Colchester, thirty-six thousand dollars being raised and a "very beautiful building" of three stories erected. In 1816, it had two hundred pupils. In 1806, Noah Webster wrote:

Many academies are maintained by private funds. In these are taught primary branches and geography, grammar, languages, and higher mathematics. There are also academies for young ladies in which are taught the additional branches of needlework, drawing and embroidery. Among the academies of the first reputation are one in Plainfield and the Bacon Academy. The most distinguished schools for young ladies are the Union School in New Haven and the school in Litchfield.

In 1806, an academy was incorporated in Stratford; in 1816, Wallingford had one, teaching Latin, Greek, and English; in 1814, the Danbury Academy was incorporated; in 1821, the Fairfield; in 1823, the Goshen Academy; in 1825, the school at Madison, succeeded in 1886, by the Hand Academy. In 1817, there was formed an academy at Wilton, which became famous under the Olmsteads; in 1829, Greenwich and Tolland followed the fashion; Brooklyn in 1830, and Saybrook three years later.

A pioneer in academies for girls was the school taught by Sarah Pierce in Litchfield, which began in 1792, and during nearly forty years it trained over fifteen hundred pupils; the building is gone but it is claimed that this was the first school for girls in the United States. Hartford Female Seminary was incorporated in 1827, and so popular was it under Catharine Beecher that it had at times one hundred and fifty pupils from outside the state. We have spoken of academies for girls at Litchfield and New Haven; Norwich also formed one, and in 1799, an academy for girls was incorporated in New London. Nathan Hale, a hero of the Revolution, taught in New London in a school incorporated in 1774, and he wrote his uncle that he had twenty young ladies in his school from five to seven in the morning, and thirty-two boys through the day. The Goodrich School in Norwich was popular for years. A school for girls was opened in Farmington in 1846, by Sarah Porter, who for more than half a century was a vital force for culture and philanthropy. The Golden Hill Seminary of Bridgeport, Grove Hall at New Haven, Windsor Female Seminary at Windsor, and St. Margaret's at Waterbury have had wide repute. Academies continued to form through the nineteenth century—the Brainerd Academy at Haddam in 1839; one in Durham in 1842; the Parker in Woodbury in 1851; the famous Wauramaug at New Preston in 1852. In 1700, Norwich was indicted by the grand jury for "failing to maintain a school to instruct," though

Catherine E. Beecher (1800–1878)

From an Old Engraving

Sarah Porter (1813–1900)

From the Photo by L. Alman

there were schools enough; districts running riot with forty school organizations; in 1854, the Norwich Free Academy was incorporated, and later, J. F. Slater gave a building, costing one hundred and sixty thousand dollars, together with other funds. The Connecticut Literary Institute was established in Suffield in 1835; three years later, the Betts Academy was started at Stamford, and soon afterwards the Black Hall School at Lyme was organized. The Gunnery at Washington has had a noted history: Frederick W. Gunn graduated from Yale in 1837, and went back to his native town and opened a school, but his abolition views called down the thunder of the pulpit and the excommunication of the church; forced to leave town, he went to Pennsylvania, whence he returned to Washington in 1847, and reopened the Gunnery, a unique and famous school. The personality of the founder was strong and positive, and the methods of discipline original. A boy caught smoking swallowed an emetic, and a pupil who plunged a cat in water was soused in the same element.

It is not easy to give the names of all the academies that did so much for the young people of the state during that dreary half century when the Connecticut public schools were passing through their dark ages. Many are held in affectionate remembrance, such as the Emerson School in Wethersfield, the Hart School in Farmington, and the Woodstock Academy. They were feeders of Yale, trainers of many useful men and women, and sources of intelligence and power in scores of communities. There were also a few denominational schools of decided value, such as the Episcopal Academy of Connecticut, founded at Cheshire in 1794, with Principal Bowdin who had charge of the education of Gideon Welles and Admiral Foote. In 1865, the Seabury Institute was incorporated in Saybrook. Roman Catholic schools came late, since the population of the earlier times was Protestant; the School of the Cathedral of Notre Dame being opened in Waterbury in 1869, the

Seminary of Saint Joseph in Hartford in 1873, and the Academy of the Holy Family, a coeducational institution, in Baltic in 1874.

Though academies were so valuable and so popular that as many as ten thousand young people were at times in them, it was at length seen that more ample provision should be made for higher education, and on July 4, 1838, it was voted to establish a free High School in Hartford, twelve thousand dollars being appropriated. The first building was on the corner of Asylum and Ann streets, and with it was incorporated a grammar school; a building large enough for three hundred pupils. Other cities soon had High Schools: Middletown in 1841, New Britain in 1850, New Haven in 1859, Bridgeport in 1876, Meriden in 1881, and Bristol in 1887. Academies were not set aside entirely by High Schools; many of the older ones continue. Schools of another class are forming: such as the Bulkley School in Meriden in 1881, the Mystic English and Classical School, the Hotchkiss and Taconic schools in Lakeville, the Westover School in Middlebury, the Williams Memorial Institute, the Gilbert School at Winsted, and Westminster School at Simsbury.

Connecticut has done much for education outside the state, both in establishing schools of a high grade, and also in writing school-books. The most original and effective woman the state has produced is Mrs. Emma Hart Willard, who was born in Berlin in 1787, and after considerable experience as a teacher, published in 1818, a *Plan for Improving Female Education*, a work which in 1819, led to the adoption by the New York legislature of the first provision for the higher education of women ever passed by any legislature, and to the incorporation in 1821, of the Willard School in Troy, from which have gone thousands of well-equipped women, under whose influences have been formed, largely in the South, two hundred similar schools. In another department of education Mrs. Willard and her sister,

Emma Hart Willard (1787–1870)

From an Old Print

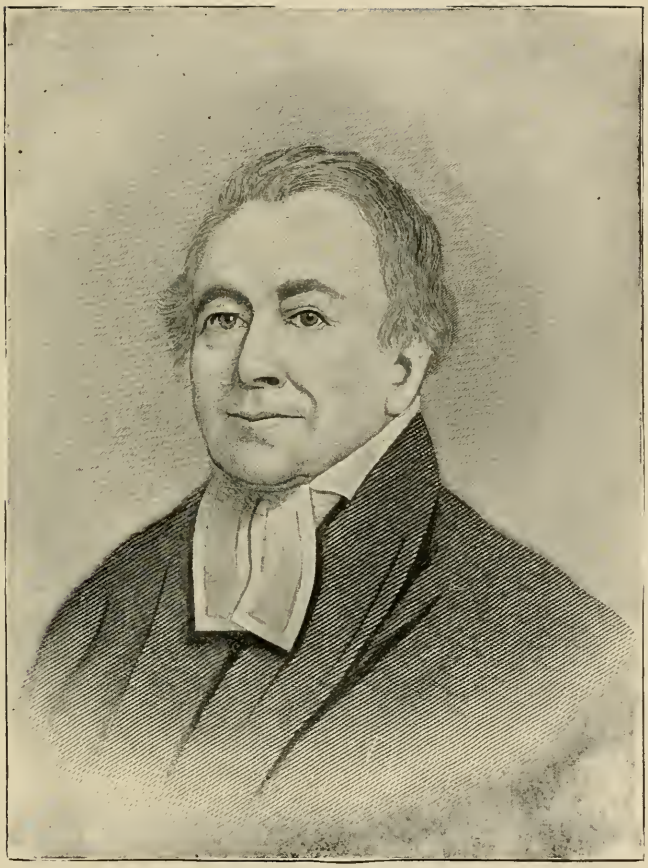
Mrs. Almira Phelps, who has been associated with her, have been of decided service, publishing school-books in geography, history, and science.

Reference has been made to Henry Barnard, who was born in Hartford in 1811. After graduating from Yale in 1830, and teaching a short time, he went to Europe and studied European methods of education, devoting himself to the task of gaining a wide knowledge, not only of public schools, but also of the treatment of the insane and of criminals. In 1838, he obtained the passage of a bill in the General Assembly for the better local supervision of the schools. That bill provided for a board of School Commissioners for the state, on which Barnard served for four years. He traveled over the country to elevate public sentiment, and gave a lasting uplift to public instruction. The Normal School at New Britain was one result of his work. He was for a time Superintendent of Schools in Rhode Island, chancellor of the University of Wisconsin, and the first United States Commissioner of Education. He established the first system of state libraries, and organized teachers in a national association. *The Journal of Education*, which he began in 1855, is called by the Britannica "by far the most valuable work in our language on the history of education."

Of Connecticut birth too is B. G. Northrop, originator of the village improvement societies and Arbor Day, and for years president of the National Educational Association. William T. Harris was born in North Killingley in 1835, and after his training at Yale, he established the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, edited a series of school text-books, and was United States Commissioner of Education for years. Samuel Kirkland, who has an honored place among educators, was born in Norwich in 1741, became missionary to the Six Nations, and in appreciation of his invaluable services in the Revolution, he received a grant of land from the government, from which he set apart a portion for the

Hamilton Oneida Academy, which in 1812, was incorporated as *Hamilton College*. The name of Asa Packer, born in Groton in 1806, is in the first class of educators. He developed the Lehigh Valley railroad, and in 1865, he gave half a million dollars and a hundred and fifteen acres of land to found *Lehigh University*, to which he bequeathed in his will two million dollars. Similar in spirit was John F. Slater of Norwich, who gave a million dollars for the uplifting of the lately emancipated population of the Southern states; he also gave Norwich the *Slater Museum*, and did much for the *Free Academy*. Mention should also be made of Walter Newberry of East Windsor, who gave four million dollars to found the *Newberry Library* in Chicago, and of Joseph Hand, who gave a million and a half for the education of the negroes in the South. The name of Manasseh Cutler deserves mention here as famous in education, since after his service in the Revolution he was a pioneer in Ohio, was the first to observe the transit of Venus, was prominent in organizing and settling the Northwest Territory, and had a leading part in drafting the Ordinance of 1787, which guaranteed complete religious liberty, public support of schools, and the prohibition of slavery in the Northwest.

Reference has been made to school libraries, and it remains to mention the movement, which has been so strong for fifty years that nearly every town has a public library. There was an earlier endeavor, which resulted in forming subscription libraries, after the idea of Franklin. In 1893, Connecticut passed a bill authorizing the establishing of a library commission, with the appointing power in the hands of the Board of Education. Every town was notified that the state was willing to give for one year as much as it would give, up to two hundred dollars. The first to respond were Suffield, Seymour, and Wethersfield; two years later, there were libraries in twenty-five towns. In 1895, the legislature voted to give every free public library an annual sum of one hundred dollars with



Manasseh Cutler (1744–1823)

certain mild conditions of state supervision, and many towns have availed themselves of this offer, though there are some, that prefer not to come under state supervision. Bridgeport was first to found a free public library, and New Haven was next, by a special act of the legislature in 1886. The name of Philip Marett of New Haven will be remembered for his gift of one-tenth of his estate of six hundred and fifty thousand dollars "for the purchase of books for the young men's Institute or any public library which may from time to time exist in the city." The income of that fund buys one-half the books for the New Haven public library. There are libraries housed in beautiful buildings, some of them richly endowed, such as: *Scoville Library*, in Salisbury; *Eldredge Library*, affluent with tapestries, supported by Isabella Eldredge, the *Acton Library* at Old Saybrook, the *Scranton Memorial* at Madison, and the *James Blackstone Memorial* at Branford.

CHAPTER XVII

THE COLLEGES

IT was apparent in the first years of the settlement that a college was needed to carry to the goal the high ideals of the founders, to "perfect youth in English grammar, composition, arithmetic, geography, Latin, Greek, religion and morality, to form for usefulness and happiness in the various relations of social life." Under the influence of John Davenport, New Haven began to plan for such an institution in 1641. Owing to a protest from the leading men of Massachusetts, it was allowed to wait; they urged that all the resources of New England were barely enough to support Harvard, whose first building was erected in 1637. In 1652, the project was formally given up for the time, but the New Haven authorities had been directed, five years before, to reserve one of the home lots for the college, and it was only a question of time.

In 1698, the General Synod of churches devised a plan to establish a college, intending to call it "The School of the Church." "They were to nominate the first president and inspectors, and to exercise an influence over all elections to preserve orthodoxy in the governors." The institution was to be supported by the churches. The following year this plan was dropped, but ten ministers were named as trustees, and a body of the most prominent clergymen in the colony met in New Haven in the year 1700, and became a society of eleven members for the formation of a college.

Later in the same year, there was another meeting in Branford, when each minister laid upon a table his contribution of books, with the words, "I give these books for the founding of a college in this colony." The contribution amounted to forty folio volumes pertaining to theology, with not a volume of classical literature or science. In the following year, Sir John Davie of Groton, while on a visit to England, sent to the college one hundred and sixty volumes, most of which were collected among the nonconformist ministers in Devonshire. The Rev. Noadiah Russell of Middletown was appointed librarian, and the volumes remained in his possession three years. The act of depositing the books has been considered the beginning of the college; but it did not have a corporate existence until October 16, 1701, when the General Assembly gave it a charter to make it legal, to encourage donations, and that it might become an owner of real estate. Judge Samuel Sewall and Isaac Addington of Boston prepared the draft of the charter, which was presented to the legislature with a petition signed by a number of ministers and laymen; an annual grant amounting to about sixty pounds being voted to aid in the support of the institution, which in the charter was called a *Collegiate School;* no place of habitation being mentioned, the trustees having powers to decide on the site and to grant degrees and licenses.

The annual appropriation was continued for fifty years. The first private donor, other than the organizers, was James Fitch of Norwich, who gave six hundred and thirty-seven acres of land in Killingley, and glass and nails enough for a college hall. After the granting of the charter, the trustees met in New Haven, and decided that Saybrook was the most convenient place for the college for a time. After the eminent Rev. Isaac Chauncy of Stratford had declined the presidency, the Rev. Abraham Pierson of Killingworth (now Clinton) was appointed rector, and since his people were unwilling to part with their pastor, Yale

College had its abode in the Killingworth parsonage. From March until September, 1702, Jacob Hemingway travelled several miles to college, "and solus was all the college the first year." At the first commencement, which was held in Saybrook in September, 1702, there were no public services, but the trustees gave the degree of Master of Arts to four Harvard students; making another Bachelor of Arts. The first student of Yale to be graduated was John Hart of Farmington, and at his graduation, September 15, 1703, he was chosen tutor with a salary of fifty pounds *country pay;* the books showing that the treasurer paid him the first year, nine pounds "tuteridg money." Until 1709, there were three classes, Senior Sophisters, Sophomores, and Freshmen, and a system of fines was arranged "for the preventing of irreligion, idleness and other immoralities." The tuition was thirty shillings a year, and the studies were Latin, Greek, philosophy, mathematics and surveying, with a weekly recitation of the Assembly's Catechism in Latin and Ames's Theological Theses. In the second year, the students increased to eight, and a contribution was solicited from the colony to build a college house. The resources of the people were small, as there were only about thirty incorporated towns, and the population was scarcely fifteen thousand, but they gladly helped.

After the death of Rector Pierson in 1707, Samuel Andrews of Milford was chosen rector, and the senior class went to Milford, while the other two classes were at Saybrook under the care of two tutors, and the college was thus divided until 1716. There was a decided difference of opinion among the trustees regarding the place for the college, and divided instruction, struggles of the towns to secure it, the coming on of the French and Indian war and smallpox so scattered the students that it looked as though the little school might vanish. Some students went to Wethersfield and placed themselves under the instruction of Elisha Williams. New Haven contributed seven hun-

The Buildings of Modern Yale University: Phelps Gateway and Hall at the Left, then Welch, Osborn, and Vanderbilt; with "Old South Middle," now Connecticut Hall, near the Center, and President Woolsey's Statue at the Right of it

From a Photograph

View of the Connecticut State Library, on Capitol Hill, Hartford

From a Photograph

dred pounds toward the college and invited it to build there; Saybrook gave four hundred pounds and wanted it there; while Hartford and Wethersfield gave money and claimed it. On October 17, 1716, the trustees voted to place it at New Haven, and continued Samuel Andrews rector *pro tempore*. The Assembly in 1717, approved the removal and voted a grant for buildings. Saybrook resisted the change of the library to New Haven; and it was judged necessary for the governor and council to be present when the sheriff executed the orders of the General Assembly. The Saybrook people destroyed the carts furnished for the transportation of the books, the bridges between the town and New Haven were broken down, and many valuable papers and books were lost. The first commencement held at New Haven was in 1717; the number of students was thirty-one, and four received the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Part of the students continued at Wethersfield, the northern part of the colony being opposed to New Haven as a site for the college. The commencement held September 12, 1718, at New Haven, was the first one to which the public was invited; it was attended by the principal laymen and ministers in the colony. In that year an edifice of wood, one hundred and seventy feet long, twenty-two wide, and three stories high, containing about fifty rooms for students, besides a hall, library, and kitchen, was completed at a cost of about one thousand pounds. One of the most liberal donors was Elihu Yale, a native of New Haven, who at the age of ten was taken to England, and later went to the East Indies, where he became governor of the East India Company. The books and goods he sent over were worth about five hundred pounds, and in recognition of his munificence, at the commencement in 1718, the new building constituting the college was named Yale, and dedicated to Elihu Yale. On the same day commencement was held in Wethersfield for the students there; but the legislature healed the differences by conciliatory acts, and the college moved out of

troubled waters under the leadership of Timothy Cutler, a Congregational minister of Stratford, an accomplished scholar and imposing personality, who was appointed rector in 1719, and for him a house was built; instructors and students increased, the library was enriched, when suddenly, at the commencement in 1722, it was announced that the new rector and Tutor Brown, who comprised the faculty, had embraced Episcopacy. After a warm debate, the faculty was dismissed, and a resolution passed that henceforth every candidate for the office of rector or tutor should declare his assent to the Saybrook Platform, and satisfy the trustees of the soundness of his theology.

Elisha Williams was the next rector, and under him the college prospered again. In 1732, the General Assembly granted Yale three hundred acres in each of the new towns of Norfolk, Canaan, Goshen, Cornwall, and Kent. The same year Berkeley, afterwards Bishop of Cloyne, made large contributions of money and books. In 1739, Rector Williams was compelled by ill health to resign, and Thomas Clap of Windham was chosen to fill the vacancy. Rector Clap was a scholarly man, and his genius for administration was prodigious. The library was catalogued; a new set of laws was compiled for the college, and a code was established for the government, ranging all the way from boxing a freshman on the ear to expulsion, though fining was a favorite penalty. In 1745, a new charter was obtained for "The President and Fellows of Yale College." In 1750, the General Assembly helped erect Connecticut Hall, and permitted a lottery to complete the work.

The social strata of the times are shown in the college catalogues, which, until 1767, were arranged in order of rank: sons of officers of the colony, then of ministers, lawyers, artisans, and tradesmen. The etiquette was laborious between faculty and students, and students conversed with one another in Latin. All undergraduates were forbidden to wear their hats (unless it was stormy) in the front door-

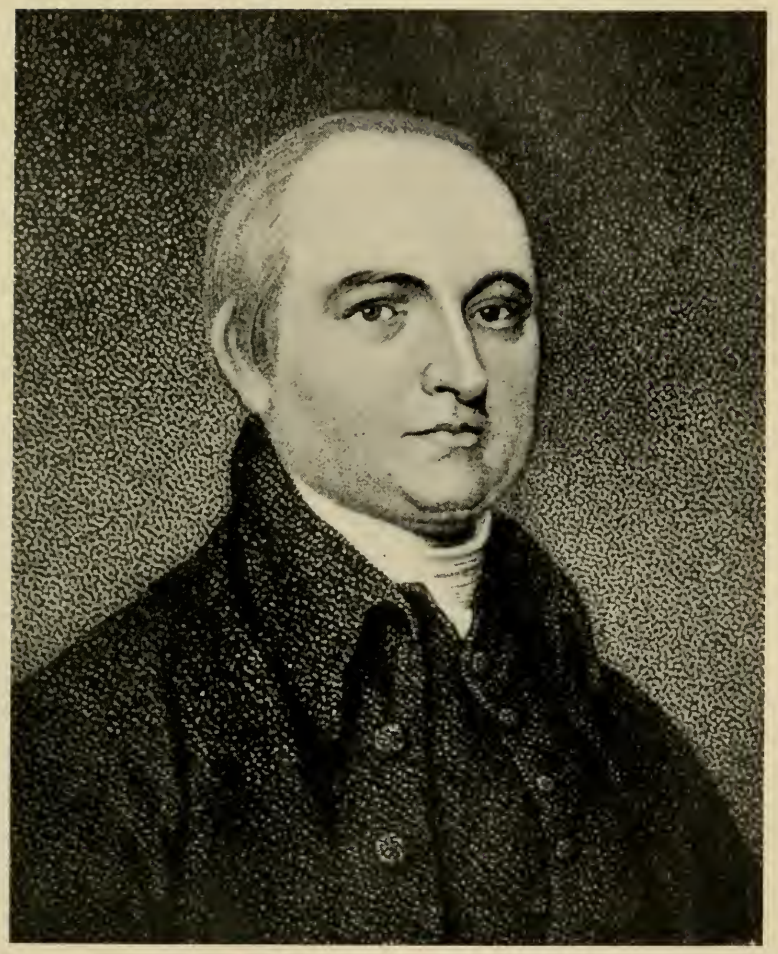
yard of the president or a professor's house, or within ten rods of the person of the president, or eight rods of a professor, or five rods of a tutor. Freshmen (except in stormy weather) were required to go uncovered in the college yard until the May vacation, unless their hands were so full they were forced to rest the hat where it belonged. The freshmen were not allowed to run in the sacred college yard, nor up and down stairs; neither were they allowed to call to any one from a college window. When near a gate or door in the college, freshmen were to pause and look around to see if there was a superior within three rods of the opening, and they must not enter first without a signal from the superior. Fines continued until the days of President Dwight. In three years under President Clap, one hundred and seventy-two pounds was collected by fines. Here are some penalties: absence from prayers a penny, tardiness a half-penny, absence from church fourpence, for playing cards or dice two shillings sixpence, for jumping out of a college window one shilling.

In 1755, when revivals under the preaching of George Whitefield and others were causing much excitement through New England, President Clap issued a declaration, signed by himself and members of the faculty, denouncing Whitefield's teaching, and creating in the minds of many good people a prejudice against the college. Faculty and students had attended the church in New Haven, but the orthodoxy of the minister not being clear to the president, he established a college church; not even asking the legislature for the right to do so, but claiming that as an incorporated body the college was not dependent on the General Assembly in such a matter. The opposition attacked the college as "too independent," but President Clap appeared before the Assembly, and argued so powerfully in favor of the position that the civil authorities had no more control over Yale than over any other persons or estate in the colony that no action was taken in the matter, and the question has never

been raised since. After Rector Clap died in 1767, Naphtali Daggett, professor of theology, was acting president, and, in 1779, when Tryon led the British against New Haven, among the hasty levies to repel the attack was President Daggett with a shotgun. After his companions fled, he stood his ground, blazing away until a detachment of the enemy captured him, and the officer, unmindful of Yale instructions to freshmen as to their manners, asked sharply, "What are you doing here, you old fool, firing on His Majesty's troops?" "Exercising the rights of war," said the theologian. The rights of war took a disagreeable turn for the preacher. In his own words:

> They damned me, those who took me, because they spared my life. Thus, 'midst a thousand insults, my infernal driver hastened me along farther than my strength would admit, in the extreme heat of the day, weakened as I was by my wounds and the loss of blood, which, at a moderate computation, could not be less than a quart. And when I failed in some degree through faintness, he would strike me on the back with a heavy walking-staff, and kick me behind with his foot. At length by the supporting power of God, I arrived at the Green in New Haven. . . . I obtained leave of an officer to be carried into the Widow Lyman's and laid on a bed, where I lay the rest of the day and the succeeding night, in such excrutiating pain as I never felt before.

His life was spared through the influence of William Chandler, a Tory, and one of his pupils, but he never recovered his vigor and died the next year, leaving some silver and negroes to the value of one hundred pounds. Ezra Stiles, who succeeded Dr. Clap, was inaugurated July 8, 1778, and was also made professor of church history. He was a valuable leader of the college, with salary of one hundred and sixty pounds, to be paid in wheat, pork, corn, and beef, or their equivalents in money, together with a house and ten acres of land. There were one hundred and thirty-two



Timothy Dwight (1752–1817). President of Yale College (1795–1817)

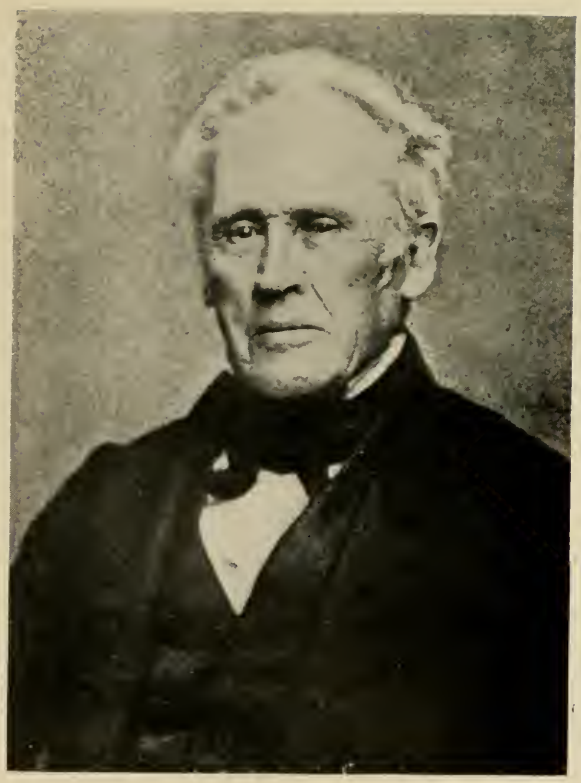
From an Old Engraving

undergraduates, and the faculty consisted of president, a professor of mathematics and another of divinity, besides three tutors, though lack of funds in 1781, caused the dismissal of the tutors. In the strain of the Revolution the college was divided. Tutor Dwight took some of the students to Wethersfield; Professor Story asked to take another contingent to Glastonbury, while President Daggett visited the classes as often as possible. Many students were in the army; four of the officers at Bunker Hill were Yale men; Nathan Hale was educated there; Major-General David Wooster, mortally wounded at the Tryon raid, Colonel Hitchcock, valiant at the Princeton fight, Captain David Bushnell of torpedo fame, and Oliver Wolcott were all of Yale.

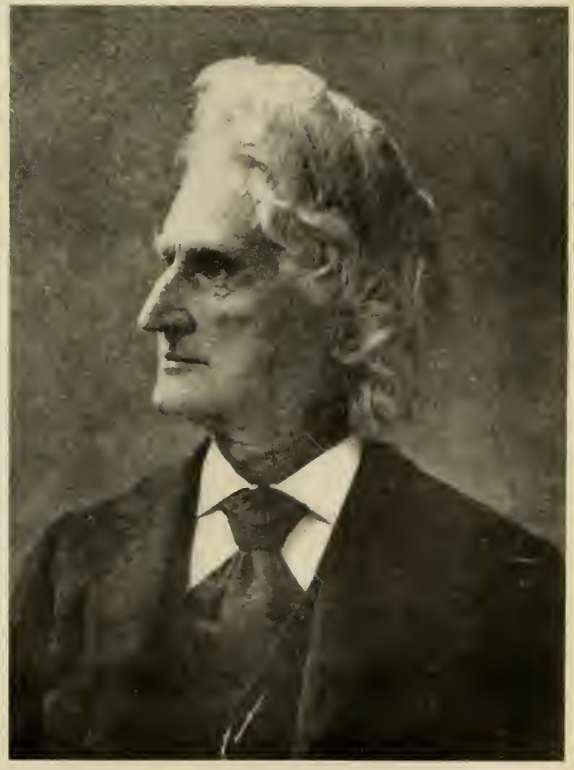
Modern Yale began with the inauguration of Timothy Dwight in 1795. The service his powerful mind and lofty personality gave to the mental and religious life of the college, in days when infidelity was rampant there, cannot be exaggerated. It was under the wise leadership of this man of breadth and foresight that the college entered the national field. At first, President Dwight and Professor Meigs, with three tutors, carried the whole burden of teaching, but when the students increased, the faculty was enlarged, and the three men who were added to the faculty were Jeremiah Day, James L. Kingsley, and Benjamin Silliman: the first an able mathematician, whose text-books were widely used; the second, an accurate scholar in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and called the *Addison of America;* the third, an accomplished pioneer in science. President Dwight abolished fines and fagging, and in his day there was published the first annual catalogue, a single sheet—said to be first of its kind in America. He had the foresight to buy most of the land between College, Chapel, High, and Elm streets and in 1800, there were built North Middle and the Lyceum—parts of the *Old Brick Row.* The laboratory had been built earlier, in 1782, and there Profes-

sor Silliman performed those electrical experiments which Morse, his pupil, carried to such effective issues. The laboratory was so deep in the earth that the lecturer's head was six feet below the surface of the ground; but Silliman's zeal was not buried. In 1806, President Dwight urged the establishment of the Medical School, and helped to effect a union between the college and the Connecticut Medical Association, which had controlled medical education in the state, and in 1810, the *Medical Institution of Yale College* was chartered. Eight years later it opened with a medical faculty of Jonathan Knight, then but twenty-three, to become a distinguished surgeon and unrivaled lecturer, Eneas Munson, Eli Ives, a successful physician, who was noted for his knowledge of the indigenous *materia medica*, Nathan Smith, whose studies in Europe gave him an extraordinary medical education for his time, and Benjamin Silliman.

President Dwight's successor was Professor Jeremiah Day, who was inaugurated president in 1817. Quiet and retiring, his administrative ability with his zeal for system and order had a decided influence on the college. A favorite expression of his was, "Punct-oo-ality is a vir-too." It was a turbulent era, when the famous "bread and butter rebellion" and "conic sections rebellion" were waged, and the faculty won, though at the expense of the expulsion of forty sophomores. Among the new professors were Chauncey A. Goodrich, powerful in personality and persuasive in speech, and Denison Olmsted, whose text-books on natural philosophy and astronomy were in the first class. The treasury, under the care of James Hillhouse, was wisely managed, and in 1831, a fund of one hundred thousand dollars was raised. In 1822, the Divinity School was established as a department, and it soon became a power under the sway of the profound and eloquent Nathanael W. Taylor, who, with such associates and successors as Eleazer T. Fitch, Josiah W. Gibbs, and Leonard Bacon, George P. Fisher, Timothy Dwight and Samuel Harris had a



Professor Benjamin Silliman (1779–1864)



Professor James D. Dana (1813–1895)

marked influence. The Law School, which as a private enterprise had existed for some time, became a part of the college in 1824, when David Daggett became Kent professor of law in the college. In 1833, the famous Litchfield Law School was discontinued, and its books and records were transferred to the school at Yale, which has flourished under such men as Woolsey and Baldwin. During those years, North College, the chapel, the cabinet, and treasury were built.

In 1846, Theodore Dwight Woolsey succeeded President Day, carrying to the college a broad and careful scholarship, enriched by studies in Europe. On becoming president he turned from Greek, of which he had been professor for fifteen years, to international law in which he became an authority. He was also an able administrator; the graduate department was strengthened; James Hadley brought high scholarship as linguist and philologist; Elias Loomis added his mathematical genius; James D. Dana made the college famous in geology; Hubert A. Newton was accomplished in meteoric astronomy; Thomas A. Thatcher was for over forty years an able teacher of Latin and molder of character; in the year of Woolsey's inauguration the library building, the first Gothic structure on the campus, was completed. Yale was continually broadening its course; in 1841, Edward E. Salisbury was appointed to the chair of Sanskrit and Arabic, and became the first in the line of great Oriental scholars who have given distinction to Yale. In 1854, William D. Whitney was made professor of Sanskrit, and in 1869, he gave to comparative philology the weight of his rare scholarship. The founding of the Peabody Museum, the Art School, and the Winchester Observatory strengthened the college. In 1866, Othniel C. Marsh took the chair of paleontology, amassed a treasure of fossils, conducted a series of expeditions to regions beyond the Missouri River, and brought back four hundred specimens of vertebrate fossils, new to science. Addison E.

Verrill was making a study of deep-sea life, bringing together two hundred thousand specimens.

The Sheffield Scientific School was an expression of the inspiring personality of Benjamin Silliman. In 1846, his son of the same name and John P. Norton began a school in analytical chemistry and mineralogy, and soon the attention of Joseph E. Sheffield, well known in railroad enterprises, was called to the needs of the college in science, and he made such generous donations that in 1861, the school that bears his name came into existence. The director was George J. Brush, the mineralogist; later, Russell H. Chittenden, eminent in physiological chemistry, gave increased power to the school, as director. In 1856, Samuel A. Johnson, the chemist, became professor at Yale, and a leader in the establishment of agricultural stations through the country. The versatile William A. Brewer and the gifted authority in early English, Thomas A. Lounsbury, and in 1871, Josiah Willard Gibbs gave the faculty still greater power. Professor Gibbs, son of a noted Yale professor, had the chair of metaphysical physics, and was one of the most profound mathematicians the world has ever seen.

The coming of Noah Porter to the presidency in 1872, brought to the headship of the college an eminent teacher of mental science, and a conservative and kindly leader. In the same year, the government was popularized by bringing in the practice of electing six members of the corporation by the alumni instead of the legislature, at the same time the rising interest in athletics was marked by the introduction of football, and in 1877, Yale began her annual races at New London with Harvard. Two years later, the Intercollegiate Baseball Association was formed, and members of the class of 1881, secured the purchase of the Yale Field, and now arrangements are in progress for a stadium, to seat sixty thousand spectators. A system of electives came in about that time, and the Sloane physical

laboratory, Kent chemical laboratory and Lawrence Hall were given.

In 1886, Professor Timothy Dwight, the wise and genial scholar, became president; electives were multiplied; the force of instructors increased; Dwight Hall, the center of the religious life of the college, was completed; there rose the walls of Osburn, Welch, White, Winchester, Vanderbilt, Phelps Memorial, Berkeley, and Pierson halls. Yale infirmary was given by women in New Haven and New York, and a gymnasium was built during President Dwight's administration, and Hendrie Hall was given to the Law School, though it was not completed until 1900. The School of Music became a definite department, and foundations were established for fellowships, scholarships, and prizes. The earliest permanent college magazine was the *Yale Literary Magazine*, which was established in 1856, and among its editors have been William M. Evarts, Donald G. Mitchell, D. C. Gilman, and Andrew D. White.

Just before the Bicentennial in 1901, President Dwight gave place to Professor Arthur T. Hadley, an authority in railroad science. At that celebration, alumni and sister institutions paid their tribute of honor to the college; the pageant was brilliant; a Bicentennial Fund of two millions of dollars was raised, by means of which were erected the Administration Building, dedicated as Woodbridge Hall, the new dining-hall, called University Hall, and the Woolsey Auditorium, in which the family of John H. Newbury installed the Memorial Organ. The Fayerweather Hall and Lampson Lyceum were also erected in that period; Kirkland Hall increased the facilities of the Scientific School in mineralogy and geology; Byers Hall, the headquarters for the Sheffield Young Men's Christian Association, and Vanderbilt Hall for the same department were also built. In 1900, James W. Pinchot made possible the founding of the School of Forestry, which is becoming an important department of the university, whose students have increased

to more than three thousand and the faculty to nearly four hundred. The forty theological books given by the ministers have multiplied to nearly four hundred thousand. The Art School has some valuable collections,—such as the Trumbull gallery of fifty-four works of the patriot-painter. There is also the Jarves gallery of one hundred and twenty-two volumes of Italian paintings from the eleventh to the seventeenth centuries, illustrating the development of art in the old painters. There is the Steinert collection of antique harpsichords, claviers, and spinnets, besides autograph letters of great musicians. In the Peabody Museum is a paleontological collection unsurpassed by that of any other college in America, and according to Huxley—in Europe. It has a skeleton of the primitive dog, the only complete one in existence, and a slab containing the skeleton of a cretaceous dinosaur, nearly thirty feet long and thirteen feet high, besides the huge remains of the largest land animals known; one from New Zealand is seventy feet long and twenty feet high. The museum is rich in minerals and meteorites, including the famous mass weighing sixteen hundred and thirty-five pounds that fell in Texas. The names of Yale men eminent in law, medicine, theology, invention, missions, and statesmanship are legion. The name Yale University was authorized in 1887, and in its many departments it is developing in power under the able presidency of Arthur T. Hadley.

In tracing the history of Trinity College, we go back to the days when everything that was not Congregational was under the ban in Connecticut. Soon after the consecration of Bishop Seabury, steps were taken to organize a college under the care of the Episcopal Church, and at a convocation at East Haddam a movement started toward the incorporation, in 1801, of the academy at Cheshire, which was sometimes called Seabury College. The legislature granted only limited powers to it. It was not to confer degrees, for in that case it might become a rival of Yale. Repeated

The Right Reverend Samuel Seabury, D.D. (1729–1796). The First Bishop of Connecticut

From an Old Copper Print

efforts were made in vain to secure an enlargement of the charter, until the adoption of the new state constitution in 1818, when, in connection with the consecration of Bishop Brownell, permission was granted to establish another college in the state. A petition, signed by many citizens, was presented to the legislature on May 10, 1823; and soon afterwards an act incorporating Washington College was passed. Fifty thousand dollars was pledged within a year, and as Hartford subscribed three-fourths of this, it was chosen as the site. Bishop Brownell was elected president on May 16, 1824, and in the following month, Jarvis Hall and Seabury Hall were started. College opened in 1824, with nine students, and on the faculty with President Brownell were George W. Doane, Hector Humphrey, and Horatio Potter. Students were received for a partial course of two years, having in view an English diploma. The first commencement was held in August, 1827, when ten graduates received the Bachelor degree. In 1831, Nathanael S. Wheaton became president, and during the six years of his term, a foundation was laid for a system of endowment, placing the college on a firm financial basis. In 1837, Silas Totten became president, holding office for eleven years. In 1845, a second dormitory was built named Brownell Hall, and the same year the name of the college was changed to Trinity. A board of fellows was organized to superintend the course of study and the discipline. Alumni, not members of the corporation, were formed into a House of Convocation, a title which was changed in 1883, to the Association of the Alumni. In 1849, the charter was amended to make the Bishop of Connecticut chancellor of the college and president of the board of trustees. Bishop John Williams held the office for two years, until compelled by duties of his diocese to resign, and Daniel R. Goodwin was president until 1860. Students increased; Hartford bought the college campus for six hundred thousand dollars for a site for the new capitol, and a tract

of nearly eighty acres was secured a mile south. Thomas R. Pynchon became president in 1874, and in the following year, ground was broken for the new buildings, and in 1878, two large blocks were ready for occupancy. The erection of Northam Hall in 1881, completed the western range of the quadrangle—named after Charles H. Northam of Hartford, whose total gifts to the college were a quarter of a million of dollars. Under President Smith, the course of studies was enriched, Gymnasium, Alumni Hall, Laboratory and Observatory erected. The college is advancing in efficiency and influence under President Flavel S. Luther, who was inaugurated in 1904.

The incorporation of the third college in Connecticut met no sectarian opposition, and early in the nineteenth century, leaders in the Methodist Episcopal Church, feeling the need of a college in New England or New York, while looking for a suitable place were attracted to Middletown. In 1825, Captain Alden Partridge, a former superintendent of the Military Academy at West Point, opened in Middletown the American Literary, Scientific, and Military Academy, and to encourage the school, the citizens built two substantial stone structures, but failure to secure a charter led to the removal of the school to Norwich, Vermont, in 1829. The vacant buildings attracted the attention of Laban Clark, presiding elder of the New Haven district, and he told the owners that he would be one of ten to buy the property. The New England Conference took the matter up and made the purchase for about thirty-three thousand dollars, on condition that it be used only for a college, and be endowed with at least forty thousand dollars. Trustees were chosen, and the college organized under the name of Wesleyan University,—the oldest in the country now existing, that was founded by and has remained under care of the Methodists. The first president was Wilbur Fisk, and in September, 1831, its doors were opened to students of both sexes. Wesleyan was among

the first to have a scientific course, and under the presidency of Augustus W. Smith, beginning in 1851, the raising of an endowment of one hundred thousand dollars assured the permanence of the college. In the presidency of Joseph Cummings, the first alumnus chosen to the office, Isaac Rich built a library to hold one hundred thousand volumes, and a large library fund was raised; the boarding hall was remodeled into an observatory hall, a memorial chapel, and the Orange Judd Hall of Natural Science constructed, the last at a cost of one hundred thousand dollars. In the presidency of Cyrus D. Foss, who followed Cummings, the debt was paid, and nearly a quarter of a million dollars added to the endowment. Of late, the gifts of George I. Seney, Daniel Ayres, and others have enlarged the scope of the college, built a fine gymnasium, and led to a large increase in students. It has been for years a growing conviction that the student body should be limited to men, and the last year in which women were graduated from the college was 1912. With grounds, buildings, and endowment aggregating in value two million dollars, an amount increased in 1912, by a million dollars, Wesleyan takes a high place under the leadership of William A. Shanklin, who was inaugurated in 1909.

There has been a conviction in many minds for years that there ought to be a college in Connecticut for women, and during the session of the legislature of 1910–11, a charter was granted to establish such a college at New London, and a tract a mile long on the west side of the Thames has been secured, partly by purchase, and partly by gift of Mrs. Harriet U. Allyn of New London. The people of the city have taken up the matter of raising money for the college with enthusiasm, and already over one hundred and fifty thousand dollars has been raised there. In addition to this, Morton F. Plant of New London has given a million dollars for endowment. The date appointed for the opening is 1914, and under Dr. F. H. Sykes as president, the college will start under the happiest auspices.

The Hartford Theological Seminary was founded as the result of a convention of thirty-six Congregational ministers held at East Windsor, September 10, 1833, for the purpose of devising means to counteract certain theological views prevailing in some quarters, views concerning depravity and regeneration, which seemed to those conservative men dangerous innovations. At that convention, the Pastoral Union of Connecticut was organized on the basis of a Calvinistic creed. The constitution adopted provided for the establishment of a Theological Seminary to guard against the perversion of consecrated funds. The control of the seminary was placed in the hands of a board of trustees accountable to the Pastoral Union. As a result, the Theological Institute of Connecticut was incorporated in May, 1834, and opened in the following September at East Windsor with sixteen students. The early years were marked by financial straits, and after a score of years, so depressing was the situation that the trustees made overtures to Yale to unite the two theological schools. There was substantial unity on both sides, but the men who represented Yale asked for delay, and when the matter was taken up again there had come a change over the situation, because of large gifts to the East Windsor school, the largest being that of James B. Hosmer of Hartford, who founded a professorship, and gave one hundred thousand dollars to erect a building. In September, 1865, the seminary was transferred to Hartford, and for fourteen years was housed on Prospect Street, moving in 1879, to Broad Street, where, through the liberality of Newton Case, a library building was erected to hold two hundred thousand volumes, and the name was changed to Hartford Theological Seminary. The old-school war-horses of the faith, Bennet Tyler and William Thompson, have given place to men equally able: Chester A. Hartranft with his large vision and genius for administration and inspiration, and, since 1903, William Douglas Mackenzie, a master of men and of

ideas. Generous gifts of late have made possible enlarging the scope of the Hartford Seminary Foundation to include the Kennedy School of Missions and the School of Religious Pedagogy, with the outlook toward a university to meet the various needs of the churches, and a tract of thirty acres has been purchased in the western part of Hartford, to which it will move to enter its widening career.

The Berkeley Divinity School began in a theological department informally organized in Trinity College in 1851, by the president of the college, Rev. John Williams. Three years later, a charter was granted for the school as a separate institution to be located at Middletown, where a large building was given for its use, and Bishop Williams was dean of the school for forty-five years, until his death in 1899. Generous provision has been made from time to time for a spacious library, enlargement of buildings, and an endowment of nearly half a million dollars. Five hundred men have graduated from the school and have taken holy orders. There were in 1910, five full professors and several instructors and lecturers.

The influence of Connecticut on colleges in other states has been effective. The founding of Dartmouth College can be traced to Eleazar Wheelock of Windham, who, while pastor at North Lebanon, now Columbia, established a school for Indians, which he transferred to Hanover, New Hampshire, where fifty-five of the sixty-eight shares in the town had been assigned to settlers from Windham, and of the two hundred and eighty-four graduates of Dartmouth to 1790, one hundred and twenty-one were from Connecticut. The founder of Hamilton College was Samuel Kirkland, who was born in Norwich in 1741; after graduating from Princeton, he became a missionary among the Indians, and during the Revolution was able to secure the neutrality of the Oneida Indians, and in 1793 he founded the college.

Among the presidents of Marietta College has been Israel A. Andrews of Connecticut. The first president of

Beloit College was Andrew Chapin, and the projector of the Western Reserve University was Caleb Pitkin, both from Connecticut. Illinois College owes much to this state, as T. J. Sturtevant was one of its founders, and Edward Beecher was its first president. The Johnsons, father and son, were influential in founding and shaping Columbia College, whose first president, William S. Johnson was born in Stratford in 1696, graduated at Yale, was member of the Stamp Act Congress, took an active part in the Revolution, became a member of the Continental Congress, member of the constitutional convention, and was one of the first senators; Abraham Baldwin, born in Guilford in 1754, graduated from Yale, was chaplain in the Revolution, then went to Savannah, Georgia, where he entered the legislature and became delegate to the Continental Congress. He was sent to the constitutional convention, and afterwards to Congress. Baldwin secured a charter for the University of Georgia, gave forty thousand acres toward its endowment and was also its first president. Union University owes much to Eliphalet Knott, a native of Ashford, who conducted its affairs in its early years with great skill, raising large sums of money for it by lotteries. Another Connecticut man who gave distinction to the faculty of Union was Laurens P. Hickok, a native of Danbury, who was professor in Western Reserve and Auburn Seminary before becoming president of Union. Hickok's works on psychology and moral science are those of a profound thinker. John J. Owen, the Greek scholar, a native of Colebrook, was an eminent member of the faculty of the College of the City of New York.

Amherst College owes much to Connecticut; President Heman Humphrey, who did so much to put it upon its feet, was born in West Simsbury, and graduated from Yale; Julius H. Seelye, long a professor of mental and moral philosophy and for fifteen years its president, was a native of Bethel, as was his brother L. Clark Seelye, for years pro-

fessor of English literature, and for a quarter of a century the able president of Smith College. From this state have gone three presidents of Williams College: Ebenezer Fitch, from 1793, when the college was chartered,—Fitch was born in Norwich, and was president fifteen years; Edward S. Griffin, born in East Haddam, who gave the college efficient service, 1821–26; and Franklin Carter, born in Waterbury, who was president, 1881–96. The famous Charles G. Finney was born in Warren, and was professor and president at Oberlin, 1835–54. Jared Sparks, professor of history at Harvard and for four years its president, was born in Willington. Cyrus Northrop, born in Ridgefield, was professor at Yale for eleven years, and in 1881, became president of the University of Minnesota. Daniel C. Gilman was born in Norwich, and after serving as professor in the Sheffield School, he became the first president of the University of California, and later of Johns Hopkins, which he did much to organize in 1875, holding office until 1902, when he became president of the Carnegie Institution in Washington. Among the one hundred and five college presidents furnished by Yale, eighteen have been the first presidents, and most of them natives of Connecticut.

The founder of the first dental college in the world was Horace H. Hayden, born in Windsor in 1769, and his versatile mind found play as an architect, builder, army-surgeon, and geologist. He became interested in dentistry through John Greenwood, Washington's dentist. Hayden opened an office in Baltimore. In 1840, he called together a few leading dentists in New York, and the American Society of Dental Surgeons was organized, with Dr. Hayden as its president until his death, four years later. The next step was the publishing of a journal, the *American Journal of Medical Science.* A college was opened in Baltimore in 1840, the College of Dental Surgery, with Hayden as its president, and professor of the principles and practice of dental surgery. In 1846, C. O. Cone, born in

East Haddam, was appointed professor of mechanical dentistry in the new college. Hartford has also the distinction of being the birthplace of E. M. Gallaudet, son of the distinguished founder of the American School for the Deaf in Hartford. Dr. Gallaudet organized, in 1864, the College for the Deaf in Washington, D. C. This institution, of which the founder was until recently president, is the only institution of its kind in the world of the grade of college. In view of these facts, nothing further need be said to establish the claim that Connecticut has been true to the purpose of its founders to establish a commonwealth of intelligence.

CHAPTER XVIII

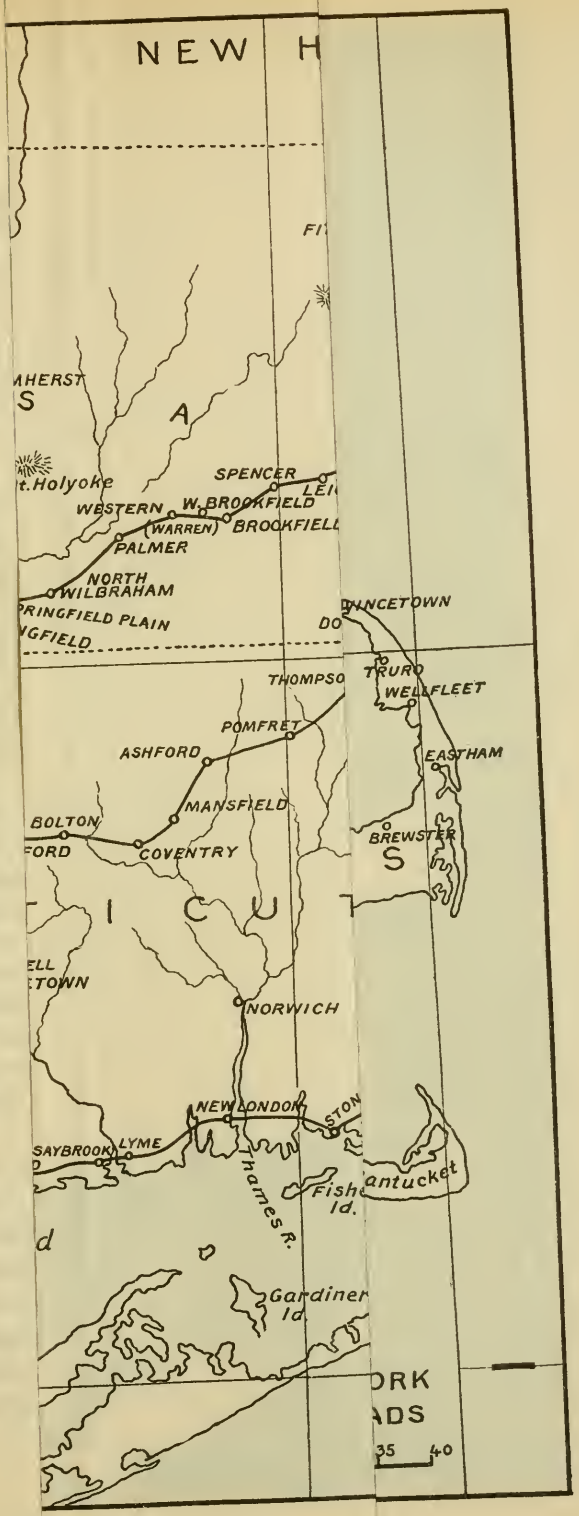
DEVELOPMENT OF THE HIGHWAYS

THE development of a state is marked not only by its courts, industries, and schools, but also by its highways, since the road is a type of civilization, a duct of trade, a symbol of culture and progress. At the start, there were in the wilderness only Indian paths—"trodden-paths," they were called in the early court-records—narrow passages scarcely two feet wide, deepened by the Indian moccasins, the hobnailed shoes of the settlers, the tread of cattle, and the feet of horses, often with blazed trees as guide-posts,—later known as "bridle-paths." For many years there were few horses in New England, and those that were owned there were too valuable on the farms to be spared for traveling. When Bradstreet was sent to Dover as Royal Commissioner, he walked both ways in the Indian path. Streams were crossed on fallen trees, or at fords. There is one record of Governor Winthrop carried "pick-a-back" by a sturdy Indian guide. The Indians showed the English the two turnpike trails from Connecticut to Boston.

The Old Connecticut Path started from Cambridge, and ran through Waltham, Framingham, Dudley, and Woodstock, through the "Wabbaquasset Country." The most famous of all the trails was the Bay Path, which passed through Marlborough to Worcester, then to Oxford, Charlton, and Brookfield (where turned off the Hadley Path), then south to Hartford. J. G. Holland wrote of these trails:

No stream was bridged, no hill graded, no marsh drained. It was the channel through which laws were communicated, through which flowed news from distant friends, loving letters and messages. That rough thread of soil was a trail that radiated at each terminus into a thousand fibres of love, and interest, and hope and memory. Every rod had been prayed over by friends on the journey and friends at home.

Gradually the paths widened into roads, though for years the phrase was "the path to New Haven," "the path to Agawam," and the first reference to a road appears to be in 1638, when it was ordered that a road be made to Windsor, which is probably the oldest road in the state. There are records of appeals to the General Court for permission to lay out roads until all the towns were connected. In 1679, it was ordered that the roads from plantation to plantation be repaired, and that the inhabitants once a year should clear a roadway of a rod wide at least on "the country roads, or the king's highway." In 1684, the records say, "great neglect was fowned in mayntaining of the highways between towne and towne; the wayes being incumbered with dirty slowes, bushes, trees and stones." It was at that time that William and Mary granted the colonies the right to have a postal system, and the first regular mounted post from New York to Boston started January 1, 1684. The first post road between those two cities passed through Providence, Stonington, and New London, and extended two hundred and fifty miles, following closely the old Pequot Path as far as Providence. In 1698, travelers and postmen complained that they "met great difficultie" in journeying, especially through Stonington, which "difficultie arises from want of stated highways, or want of clearing and repairing, and erecting and maintaining sufficient bridges, and marks for direction of travellers," and it was ordered by the legislature that these defects should be remedied, under penalty of a fine of ten pounds. A road was laid out, by order of the General Assembly before 1700, between New London and Norwich,


NEW H
AMHERST
S
A
SPENCER
WESTERN
W. BROOKFIELD
(WARREN)
PALMER
NORTH
WILBRAHAM
PRINCETOWN
TRURO
WELLFLEET
THOMPSO
POMFRET
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EASTHAM
MANSFIELD
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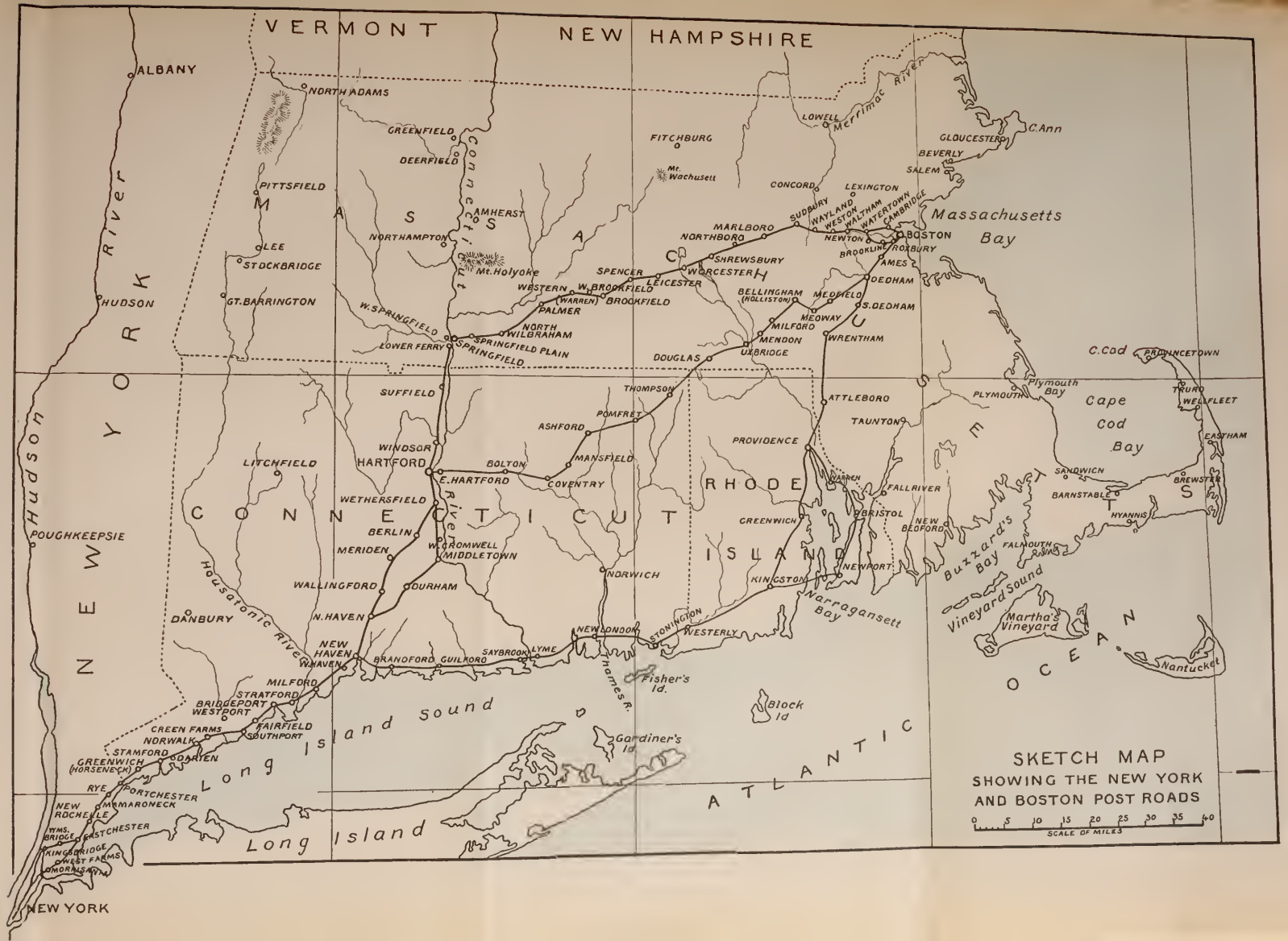

VERMONT
NEW HAMPSHIRE
ALBANY
NORTH ADAMS
GREENFIELD
DEERFIELD
Connecticut River
PITTSFIELD
LEE
STOCKBRIDGE
GT. BARRINGTON
HUDSON
Hudson River
NEW YORK
AMHERST
NORTHAMPTON
Mt. Holyoke
W. SPRINGFIELD
LOWER FERRY
SPRINGFIELD
SPRINGFIELD PLAIN
NORTH WILBRAHAM
WESTERN
W. BROOKFIELD
(WARREN)
BROOKFIELD
PALMER
SPENCER
WORCESTER
LEICESTER
SHREWSBURY
FITCHBURG
Mt. Wachusett
LOWELL
Merrimac River
GLOUCESTER
C. Ann
BEVERLY
SALEM
CONCORD
LEXINGTON
SUDBURY
WAYLAND
WESTON
WALTHAM
WATERTOWN
CAMBRIDGE
BOSTON
Massachusetts Bay
MARLBORO
NORTHBORO
NEWTON
BROOKLINE
ROXBURY
AMES
DEDHAM
BELLINGHAM
(HOLLISTON)
MEDFIELD
S. DEDHAM
MEDWAY
MILFORD
MENDON
UXBRIDGE
WRENTHAM
DOUGLAS
C. Cod
PROVINCETOWN
TRURO
WELLFLEET
EASTHAM
Plymouth Bay
PLYMOUTH
Cape Cod Bay
ATTLEBORO
TAUNTON
THOMPSON
POMFRET
ASHFORD
SUFFIELD
WINDSOR
HARTFORD
BOLTON
MANSFIELD
E. HARTFORD
COVENTRY
LITCHFIELD
WETHERSFIELD
BERLIN
MERIDEN
W. CROMWELL
MIDDLETOWN
CONNECTICUT
RHODE ISLAND
PROVIDENCE
WARREN
FALLRIVER
BRISTOL
NEW BEDFORD
GREENWICH
SANDWICH
BREWSTER
BARNSTABLE
HYANNIS
MASSACHUSETTS
POUGHKEEPSIE
Housatonic River
DANBURY
WALLINGFORD
DURHAM
N. HAVEN
NORWICH
NEWPORT
KINGSTON
Narragansett Bay
Buzzard's Bay
FALMOUTH
Vineyard Sound
Martha's Vineyard
NEW LONDON
STONINGTON
WESTERLY
NEW HAVEN
W. HAVEN
BRANFORD
GUILFORD
SAYBROOK
LYME
Thames R.
Fisher's Id.
Block Id
Gardiner's Id
Island sound
Long Island
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Nantucket
MILFORD
STRATFORD
BRIDGEPORT
WESTPORT
FAIRFIELD
SOUTHPORT
CREEN FARMS
NORWALK
STAMFORD
DARIEN
GREENWICH
(HORSENECK)
RYE
PORTCHESTER
MAMARONECK
NEW ROCHELLE
WMS. BRIDGE
EASTCHESTER
KINGSBRIDGE
WEST FARMS
MORRISANIA
NEW YORK
SKETCH MAP
SHOWING THE NEW YORK
AND BOSTON POST ROADS
0 5 10 15 20 25 30 35 40
SCALE OF MILES

passing through the *Mohican fields*, being surveyed by Joshua Raymond, who was paid with the gift of a fine farm upon the route.

In 1704, Madame Knight went from Boston to New York on horseback, and her experiences with bad roads, miserable taverns or huts, where she stopped for the night, give us a dismal picture of the rudeness of the times. On October 2, 1704, she wrote in her journal: "Began my journey from Boston to New Haven; being about two hundred mile." The food offered at the taverns was apt to be trying; in one place the "cabage was of so deep a purple," she thought it had been "boiled in the dye-kettle." She speaks of a "cannoo" so small and shallow that she kept her "eyes stedy, not daring so much as to lodg my tongue a hair's breadth more on one side of my mouth than tother, nor so much as think of Lott's wife, for a wry thought would have oversett our wherey." She wrote that after leaving New London,

> wee advanced on the town of Seabrook. The Rodes all along this way are very bad. Incumbered with Rocks and mountainos passages, which were very disagreeable to my tired carcass. In going over a Bridge, under which the River Run very swift, my hors stumbled, and very narrowly 'scaped falling over into the water; which extremely frightened me. But through God's goodness I met with no harm, and mounting agen, in about half a miles Rideing came to an ordinary, was well entertained by a woman of about seventy and advantage, but of as sound Intellectuals as one of seventeen.

After crossing Saybrook ferry, she stopped at an inn to bait, and to dine, but the broiled mutton was so highly flavored that the only dinner received was through the sense of smell. After leaving Killingworth, she was told to ride a mile or two, and turn down a lane on the right hand. Not finding the lane, she continues, "We met a young fellow, and ask't him how farr it was to the lane, which turned down to Guilford. He said we must ride a

little further, and turn down by the corner of Uncle Sams Lott." She found the people possessed of as "large a portion of mother witt, and sometimes larger than those who have been brought up in Cities" but needing "benefitt both of education and conversation." Making shrewd comments she reached Rye, and stopped at a tavern where she ordered a fricassee, but could not eat it; she was then conducted to her bedroom, by way of a very narrow stairway. She says:

arriving at my apartment, a little Lento Chamber furnisht among other Rubbish with a high Bed and a Low one,—Little Miss went to scratch up my Kennell, which Russelled as if she'd been in the Barn among the Husks, and suppose such was the contents of the tickin—nevertheless being exceedingly weary, down I lay my poor Carkes, and found my covering as scanty as my Bed was hard. Annon I heard another Russelling noise in the Room—called to know the matter,—Little Miss said she was making a bed for the men; who, when they were in Bed, complained their leggs lay out by reason of its shortness. My poor bones complained bitterly, not being used to such Lodgings; and so did the man who was with us: and poor I made but one Grone, which was from the time I went to bed to the time I Riss, which was about three in the morning. Setting up by the Fire till Light.

Through mud, forests, and all sorts of difficulties she made her journey to New York and home again in Boston, and after an absence of five months, she broke out into the following verse:

Now I've returned to Sarah Knight's,
Thro' many toils and many frights,
Over great rocks and many stones,
God has presarv'd from fractured bones.

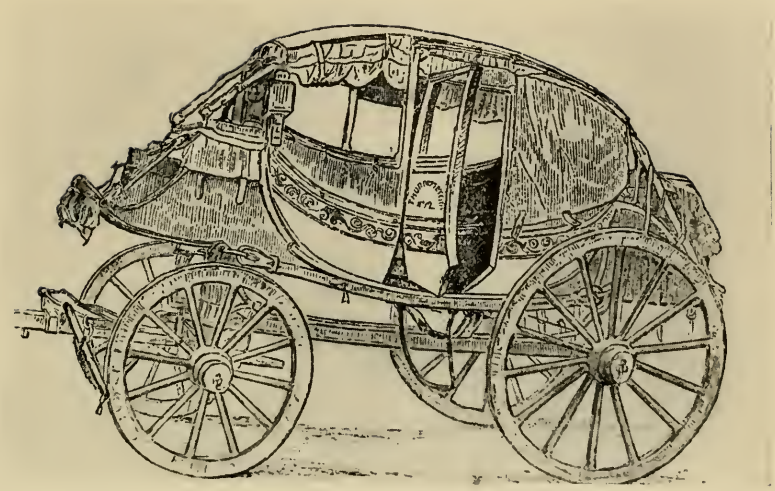
In 1711, the General Assembly of Rhode Island voted that "a highway be laid out from Providence through Warwick and West Greenwich to Plainfield," and the following year the legislature of Connecticut voted that the selectmen of

Plainfield lay out at once a road to make the connection eastward from the Quinnebaug River; a part of the distance the road was four rods wide, and elsewhere eight rods. Highways improved slowly: at the opening of the eighteenth century there was no good road through Thompson, except mean gangways to Boston and Hartford, crooked paths, winding among "rocks, mountains and miry swamps," which had been trodden out by the people, and made barely passable. It was in 1732, that the first was reported in that section, and soon after that, references are found to roads "to the meeting-house" from the houses of "a considerable number of the nabors"; and some of those "nabors" were compelled to pull down twelve pairs of bars before they reached the village. The layout of the early roads depended largely on the location of the houses, and since it was customary to build on the hilltops, perhaps as greater security against the Indians, the roads were as hilly as possible. The roads were also poor even in Hartford, where wheels sunk to the hub in the native clay of Pearl Street after the nineteenth century was well advanced. About the middle of the eighteenth century some effort was made to improve Main Street, but little was done then or for fifty years afterwards except to fill the worst holes and quagmires with stones. Benevolent farmers in Wethersfield, and no doubt in other towns, kept oxen yoked in "mud time" to relieve distressed teamsters, and there is a tradition that, near the opening of the nineteenth century, Mrs. Daniel Wadsworth on Thanksgiving Day was unable to cross Main Street from her home near City Hall to Colonel Wadsworth's home on the Atheneum lot, except on horseback. In 1774, when the county jail was on Trumbull Street, the prisoners petitioned that the jail limits be extended to the court-house on the east, that the charitable who might aid them could get to them, since "all the roads which lead to it (the Hartford jail) being for a considerable part of the year miry and uncomfortable to walk in."

Early in the eighteenth century horses were more numer-

ous though the drain to the West Indies was heavy and constant. The Narragansett pacers were much bred, and highly esteemed; heavy draft horses were also imported, and from them sprang a race of powerful animals. Coaches were not common for years, though John Winthrop had one in 1685, and Andros in 1687. Roads were too poor for them outside of the towns, and the Puritan leaders lamented their coming as savoring of luxury and extravagance. A variety of carriages came into use as the roads improved, and wealth increased. There were the calash, a chaise with a folding top, the chaise with the fixed top, a two-wheeled gig with no top, the sulky for one traveler; these being hung on thorough-braces. There was also a four-wheeled carriage called a chariot. There is a reference in an inventory of 1690, to a "sley," and Bostonians had such vehicles for snow, though they were not common in Connecticut until a generation later.

It was a little before the Revolution that the first chaise appeared in Norwich; owned by Samuel Brown, who was fined for driving in it to church, since the rolling of the wheels broke the solemn and holy stillness of the Sabbath. At the Revolution there were six chaises in Norwich; the most wonderful was that of General Jabez Huntington, the first in town with a top that could be thrown back, being a large, low, square-bodied affair, studded with brass nails. Another belonged to Dr. Daniel Lathrop, said to have been the first druggist in the state. This had a yellow body and large windows in the sides of the top. We find references to carriage-making in Windham Green in 1808, and in the following year a wagon owned by Roger Huntington of Windham was sent to Leicester for a load of machine cards, and there could not have been more curiosity manifested along the road if it had been a menagerie. At Woodstock a crowd gathered to examine the new vehicle that was to kill the horses. One man had seen such a thing in Hartford, "and the horse dragging it was fagged nearly to death."



The Stage Coach America

Drawn by Capt. Basil Hall, R. M., by means of a camera obscura

Chaise belonging to Sheriff Ward of Worcester

From a Photo. by H. C. Hammond

On the return the next day with a load, Esquire McClellan and the others decided "that perhaps such wagons might come into use after all."

Taverns came early, and under order of the General Court in 1644, they were established "not only in Hartford, but others in each town upon our river." An old authority tells what a guest might expect:

> Clean sheets to lie in wherein no man had been lodged since they came from the landresse, and have a servante to kindle his fire and one to pull off his boots and make them clean, and have the hoste and hostess to visit him, and to eat with the hoste or at a common table if he pleases, or eat in his chamber, commanding what meate he will according to his appetite. Yea, the kitchen being open to him to order the meat to be dressed as he liketh it best.

The landlord was not to allow a person to be intoxicated in his house, or to drink excessively, or to tipple after nine at night. Reference has been made in an earlier chapter to the tavern of Jeremy Adams on Main Street, Hartford, where the legislature held its meetings for nearly fifty years. Quite as famous was the Black Horse Tavern, which was built near the line of Main Street, not far from the Atheneum, and for half a century it was the most widely known of all the inns in the region. After a time the Bunch of Grapes Tavern of David Bull outstripped its neighbor in popularity. Many taverns were poor affairs, as Madame Knight discovered. From the first, they were closely connected with the church, and were licensed to promote public worship. It was usually next to the church, and such proximity was the single condition on which it was permitted to sell "beare." There is a record of a permission granted to John Vyall in 1651,—"libertie to keep a house of Common Entertainment, if the County Court consent, provided he keepe it near the new meeting house,"—convenient for worshipers and voters. Strict laws regulated taverns, and in New Haven

twenty acres of land was set apart to pasture the horses of travelers in.

Just before the Revolution, John Adams wrote of an Enfield landlord as follows: "Oated and drank tea at Peases—a smart house and landlord truly; well-dressed with his ruffles &c. I found he was the great man of the town, representative as well as tavern-keeper; retailers and taverners are generally in the country, assessors, select-men, representatives and esquires." Notices of town meetings, elections, new laws, and ordinances of administration were posted in the taverns, where also could be found bills of sale, records of transfer, business exchanges, and daily gossip,—a local substitute for a daily paper. Distances were more apt to be reckoned from tavern to tavern than from town to town. Courts and town meetings were sometimes held there, as well as committee meetings and consultations of selectmen. Care was taken to clear the tavern when the time came for public worship in the bleak meeting-house, and citizens were frozen out of the one to be frozen within the sacred refrigerator. The Black Horse Tavern, which was built in 1732, by Samuel Flagg on Main Street, Hartford, nearly opposite the First Church in its present location, was for half a century the most widely known of all the inns for miles around, and later, the Bunch of Grapes Tavern of David Bull, standing near the corner of Asylum and Main streets, was more popular.

Next in importance to the tavern was the stage-driver with his stage. As early as 1717, the General Assembly voted to grant Captain John Munson of New Haven, together with his executors, administrators, and assigns the sole and only privilege of transporting persons and goods between Hartford and New Haven for seven years. The only condition was that on the first Monday of every month, except December, January, February and March, he should, if the weather permitted, drive to Hartford and back again within the week. In winter there was no regular communication between the two cities by stage or boat. The most famous

stage-driver in those days was Captain Levi Pease, who was born in Enfield in 1740, and on October 20, 1783, he started a stage-route from Boston to Hartford, leaving Boston at six in the morning, and a man named Sykes set out from Hartford, changing horses at Shrewsbury. Pease advertised to go in "two convenient wagons," but the tradition is that the "carriages were old and shackling," and the harnesses partly ropes. At ten at night the passengers put up at a tavern, and were called at three, or before, the next morning. If the roads were heavy with mud or snow, the passengers were expected to get out to lessen the load. The wagon of Pease's stage-route was at first almost empty, but a resolute man like him was undisturbed, and he started a movement for better roads, an effort which resulted in the first Massachusetts turnpike, which was laid out in 1808. Pease has been called the "Father of the American Turnpike." After a time there was the

New Post-Coach Line Dispatch, in six hours from Hartford to New Haven, leaving Hartford every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday at eleven in the forenoon, passing through Farmington, Southington and Cheshire, and reaching New Haven in time for the steamboat. . . . The above line of Post-Coaches are new and modern in style, horses selected with great care and are first rate, drivers that are experienced, careful and *steady*.

The horses were usually tough and wiry, weighing about a thousand pounds. Stages became less rude and primitive as the turnpikes spread, and as the schedule time was ten miles an hour, a breakneck speed was required down hill to compensate for the slow up-hill progress. A frightened passenger, after a terrible jolting down the western slope of Talcott mountain, stuck his head out of the window, and beckoning to the driver said, "My friend, be you goin' down any further? Because if you air, I'm goin' to get out right here. I want to stay on the outside of the airth a

leetle longer." Another traveler, who, to relieve the horses, had toiled on foot up a long hill in Barkhamsted, entered the tavern, and asked if the Lord was in. "For," he explained, "it seems to me that we've come high enough to find Him."

After a time the roads leading to the cities were used in the winter by farmers, who filled their two-horse pungs or one-horse pods with the products of toil and skill, and drove to market. They carried dressed pigs, a deer or two, firkins of butter, cheeses in casks, poultry, beans, peas, corn, skins of mink, fox and fisher-cat, birch-brooms the boys had made, stockings, mittens, and yarn. They carried their rations with them with feed for the horses; *rye and injun*, doughnuts, pies, cold roast spareribs, and inevitably some frozen bean porridge, and when the pung was crowded, the chunk of porridge was suspended by a string to the side of the sleigh; a hatchet was put in to chop off a dinner of this nourishing food, called by the Indian name of tuck-a-nuck or mitchin. On reaching the city the goods were disposed of and a less bulky load carried home; a few yards of cotton cloth, spices, raisins, fish-hooks, powder, shot, a few pieces of English crockery, jackknives, and ribbons. Emigrant wagons were often seen on the roads, and the peddler, the commercial link between city and country, was welcome everywhere, as he carried tinware, dry goods, and a hundred notions. Many a pack peddler was seen, and as he plodded along the dusty road, he dreamed of the time when he should have a wagon, and of the still more distant day when he should own a permanent stand in the city, whence he would send out wagons in all directions.

It was an important epoch in Connecticut history when the turnpikes came in, for then began some method in building roads. There had been the trails and bridle-paths from scattered farms to one another and to the church, store, and mill, and there had also been communication between the towns by the country roads, which were sandy in summer and

A Tavern Sign at Saybrook, Conn.

SUMMER ESTABLISHMENT

Boston, Hartford & New-York

MAIL STAGES

AND

Accommodation Stages.

Commences 27th April, 1812.

THE Proprietors of the above Stages, inform the Public, that they calculate running in the following manner—Viz.

From Boston, by Worcester, Springfield, Hartford and New-Haven to New-York: leaves Boston on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays at 5 o'clock A. M.; arrives in New-York in 48 hours.—Leaves New-York every Monday, Wednesday and Friday, at 7 o'clock, A. M.; arrives at Boston, in 48 hours.—From Boston, by Worcester, Stafford, Hartford and New-Haven, to New-York: leaves Boston, Sundays, Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays, at 5 o'clock, A. M.; arrives at Hartford same days.—Leaves Hartford every Monday, Wednesday and Friday, at 3 o'clock, A. M.; arrives at New-York same days.—Leaves New-York every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday, at 7 o'clock, A. M.; arrives at Hartford same days.—Leaves Hartford Sundays, Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, at 3 o'clock, A. M.; arrives at Boston same days.

Each passenger will be allowed 14lb baggage gratis, 100lb. baggage will pay equal to one passenger: the proprietors will not be accountable for any baggage.

FLAGG	CAMP.	LOVEJOY
SIKES	SWAYHEL	MATT.
DRAPER.	PECK.	DAVENPORT
BABCOCK.	POTTER.	ARMSTRONG.
BARNES.	NL HOLS.	GOODYEAR

A Stage Notice at Hartford

buried in snow in winter, and in the spring, when the frost was coming out, almost impassable. The story of the highway to the Great Green Woods, as the north half of Litchfield County was called, illustrates the way roads were built. Dissatisfied with the rude bridle-paths, the inhabitants of Simsbury and Farmington joined the settlers of New Hartford in 1752, in a petition to the County Court for an order to open a road from Hartford to New Hartford. After the charter for the road was granted there came a war of words with emphatic language concerning the layout, and when the Old North Road was completed it was a wonder to the world that a direct route could be found through swamps and over steep hills, with all sorts of queer turns to keep it within the two-mile distance from a straight line, yet avoid rocks, and accommodate as many farmers as possible. Travel on the road was largely on horseback, and the wagons found a single roadway, with slight opportunity to turn out. In the Revolution, troops and munitions passed over that road, and detachments of Burgoyne's army marched there as prisoners of war. Iron was carried there on the way from Salisbury to Hartford; ship-builders found in the Litchfield forest lumber and masts; grist-mills were built on the streams, often with sawmills attached, and the road was convenient to some of these. It was over that road that Ethan Allen marched toward Ticonderoga; rugged men hastened over it toward Lexington and Bunker Hill.

When the New London Turnpike Company was chartered in 1800, it was ordered that all were to be exempt from paying toll who were going to attend worship, funerals, school, society, town or freemen's meetings, to do military duty, attend training, go to and from grist-mills, and attend to ordinary farm business. The towns on this forty-two-mile stretch from Hartford to New London were to build and maintain bridges over certain streams. The charter required four toll-gates on the road and the toll rate was as follows: four cents for a person and horse or for an empty one-horse

cart; six and a quarter cents for a one-horse pleasure sleigh, an empty two-horse cart, or a loaded one-horse cart; twelve and a half cents for a chaise, sulky, or a two-horse loaded sleigh, also for a loaded cart, sled, sleigh, or wagon; twenty-five cents for a four-wheeled pleasure carriage or a stage-coach; two cents for every horse, mule, or cow, and half a cent for every sheep or pig. It was not until 1857, that this road was wholly turned over to the towns through which it ran. Toll-gates were a favorite resort for the people who were eager to learn something of the doings of the great world. It was provided in some of the charters of the turnpike companies that when the net earnings exceeded twelve per cent., the road reverted to the state.

One of the problems of the highway was the crossing of rivers, and the earliest method was by fords and ferries. As early as 1681, Thomas Cadwell of Hartford was licensed to

> Keepe the ferry for seven years with sufficient boats to carry over horses and men, and a canoe for a single person. . . . Fare for horse and man, 6d if not of this town. Fare for a man, 2d if not of this town. Fare for a man, 1d in silver if of this town or 2d in other pay. Fare for horse and man, 3d in silver if of this town or 6d in other pay. And of those of this town whom he carrys over after the daylight is shutt in, they shall pay sixpence a horse and man in money or 8d in other pay. For a single person, 2d or 3d.

In 1691, complaint was made of the great disorder at the ferry on Sundays because of the many who were on their way to church, and three years later the difficulty was relieved when the people on the east side of the river obtained the "liberty of a minister among them." In 1712, the legislature granted Richard Keeney of Hartford liberty to keep a ferry near the bounds of Hartford and Wethersfield, and ten years later another ferry was established near the former. The old records contain many references to ferries at various

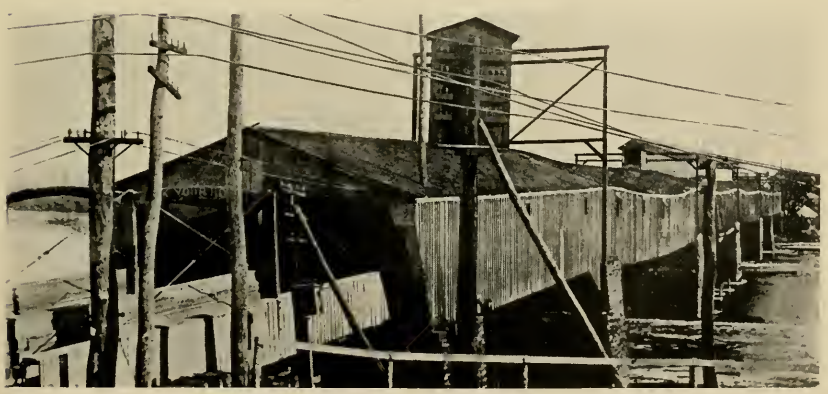
points on the Connecticut and the other rivers, with a rigid fixing of rates. In 1745, the fares for the Hartford ferry were 9d for a man, horse, and load; for a man, 4d; for meat cattle, 7d a head, and 2d for sheep. In 1758, Hartford voted that two boats be used at the ferry, and two years later, that one of the two ferrymen should live on the east side.

As Hartford grew and its business increased, it became evident early in the nineteenth century that the ferry was insufficient, and on April 24, 1810, a bridge across the Connecticut was opened to the public. The construction of this bridge was pushed through by the Hartford Bridge Company, the president of which was John Morgan, and the cost of the bridge—ninety-six thousand dollars, was obtained by the sale of assessable shares. The toll was twelve and a half cents for a double team, sixteen cents for a barouche, twenty-five cents for a stage, and two cents for a foot passenger. This bridge was so seriously injured by the freshet of 1818, that the company vacated its charter, but was persuaded to go on under a more favorable charter and rebuild. The second bridge of 1818, was seriously injured in the great storm of January 23, 1839. The growing demands for a free bridge came to a climax in 1889, when the state paid the company forty per cent. of the cost of the old bridge, and Hartford, East Hartford, Glastonbury, Manchester, and South Windsor the remaining sixty per cent. The bridge was made free on September 11, 1889, burned on May 17, 1895, and as the pine lumber sent out its blaze, twenty thousand people looked on. Work on a temporary structure began at once and a month later it was open to traffic, but before a year passed it was swept away. A second temporary bridge was opened on May 4, 1896, and that lasted until the present bridge was ready in 1907. The stone bridge was built under the auspices of a commission appointed by the legislature soon after the burning of its predecessor. Its total length is twelve hundred feet lacking seven and a half, and it is said to be the largest

stone bridge in the world. It is of granite, and the stone came from Leete's Island and Stony Creek. There are nine spans, and the weight of the largest finished stone is forty tons. The cost apportioned among the towns of the bridge district was one million six hundred thousand dollars.

The present interest in good roads and promotion of them owe much to the invention of the Blake stone-breaker. This machine had its origin in the brain of Eli Whitney Blake of New Haven, a relative of Eli Whitney of cotton-gin fame. The Blake Stone-Breaker is ranked with the great labor-saving inventions of the world. Wherever railroads are to be ballasted, foundations of bridges or great buildings to be laid, and roads macadamized, the Blake Stone-Breaker is used. Blake was led to make the invention by seeing the need as he superintended the macadamizing of a street in New Haven. During the ten years between 1862, and 1872, the direct saving, computed from the actual working records of the five hundred breakers then in use, was over fifty million dollars. Since that time the machine has found its way over the world. The systematic movement for good roads began in 1895, when the legislature appropriated seventy-five thousand dollars to be distributed throughout the state, with the conditions that the counties should furnish one-third and the towns another third. In 1897, one hundred thousand dollars was appropriated; in 1899, one hundred and seventy-five thousand; in 1901, two hundred and twenty-five thousand; in 1903, the same; in 1907, three-quarters of a million, a third of which was for trunk lines, of which the longest is the road from Westerly to Port Chester—one hundred and twenty miles long. In 1812, there were three thousand miles of roads in the state, and in 1913, fifteen thousand. Much attention has been given of late to a system of trunk lines, of which there are fourteen, gridironing the state, enabling the commissioner to superintend the outlay of appropriations with foresight and system. The General Assembly of 1911, appropriated for two years

The Connecticut River Bridge



The Connecticut River Bridge
The Original Bridge was Built 1809 and Carried away by Freshet in March, 1818.
Rebuilt as Shown above in December, 1818. Became a Free Bridge
September 11, 1889. Destroyed by Fire May 17, 1895

two million dollars for trunk lines, in one million of which the towns have a share, two hundred thousand for repairs, and twenty thousand for special post-roads.

The coming of the automobile calls for better roads and furnishes more money to make and repair them, and now oil and tar harden and coat the surface of them that the swift tires may not destroy them. Multiplication of accidents at grade crossings, since touring cars raced over the state, has given an impetus to the movement to remove this fertile source of danger. It is a long cry from the Indian trails, the Bay Path, and the Old Connecticut Path to the Hartford and New Haven Turnpike, carefully graded and smooth as a floor, with its flying motor-cars from every state in the Union, suggesting the complex conditions into which the commonwealth has grown.

CHAPTER XIX

THE GREAT AWAKENING

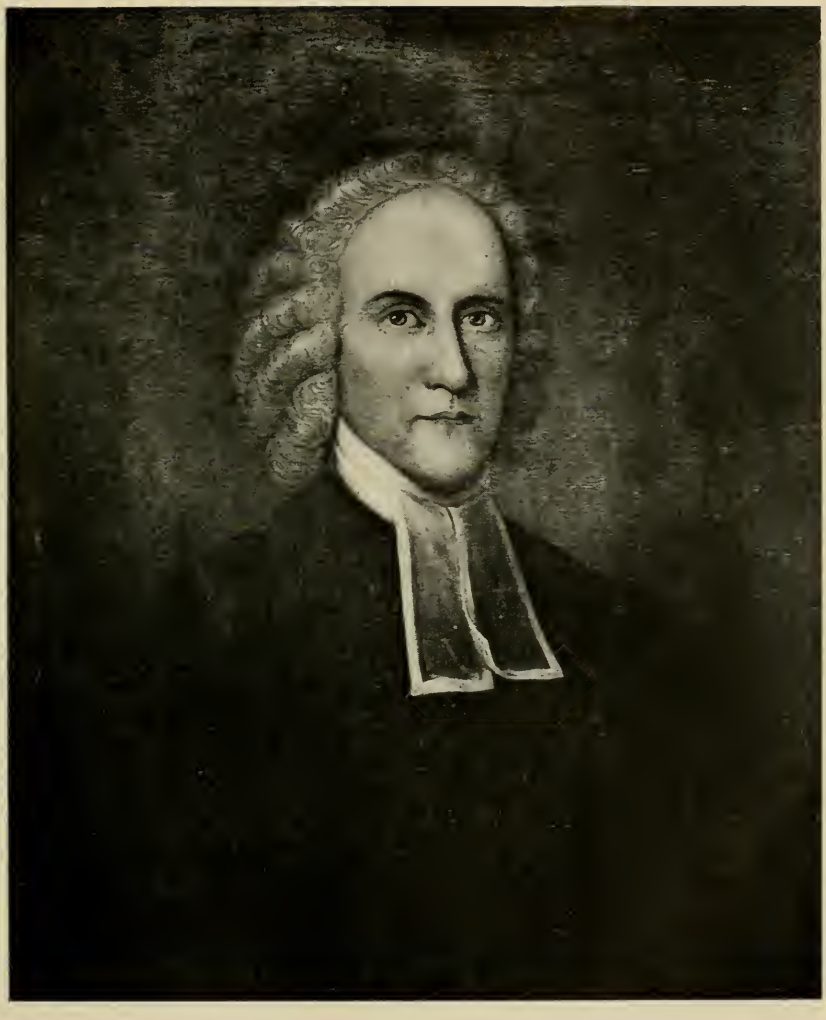
WE have sketched in an earlier chapter a decline in the religious life and in the morals of the people as the seventeenth century advanced. Quarrelsomeness, licentiousness, drunkenness, lying, and slander were widespread tokens of the decay of those principles of conduct for which the Puritans stood. The teachings of the pulpit had not changed, but formality was displacing earnestness and purity of life. In 1714, the General Assembly passed resolutions, calling on the General Association of churches to inquire into the religious indifference, the profanity and immorality that threatened to ruin the land. The ministers reported in 1715, that they had found a lack of Bibles in the homes, neglect of worship, catechizing and family government; that irreligion, tale-bearing, defamation, calumny, contempt of law and intemperance abounded. The legislature then ordered all judges and justices of the peace to be diligent and strict to enforce all laws for the suppression and punishment of immorality and irreligion; that selectmen and constables were to see to it that children should be educated; that every householder was to obtain a Bible, if he had none, and that catechisms and other "good books of practical godliness be distributed." Officers were bidden to make diligent search for breaches of education, profanity, lying, and tippling at unlicensed houses.

After making all needful allowance for exaggeration and

extravagant language so common in those days, the condition of affairs evidently was gloomy, and this was not strange in view of the demoralizing influence of the wars, and the passing of many of the ablest and best men, but a change was coming; the pendulum was about to make its return so familiar to the student of history. There was a deepening seriousness here and there; an effort to quench frivolity as in the solemn church trial in Columbia in 1738, when Timothy Hutchinson was required to make humble confession of sin for smiling in church. There were local alarms and some reforms in view of calamity, drought, harvest-failure, or excessive zeal of a devoted minister. There were endeavors here and there to maintain the strictness of the forms of a religious community. A story is told of Colonel Ethan Allen, that he was once on military service in Connecticut, when a little bushy-headed grand juror emerged from his cabin, and seizing the bridle-rein of the colonel's horse attempted to make an arrest. The colonel, sternly eyeing the dignitary of the law, drew his sword and flourishing it aloft, exclaimed, "You little woodchuck! Get back into your burrow, or I 'll cut your head off," and Grand Juror Balcomb prudently retired. On the whole the intensity of the early fervor, the demand for rigid self-examination, the requirement that one should have in conversion an experience little short of the terrific, had passed into the chill and indifference of the Half-way Covenant period, and an eclipse of spiritual power and moral seriousness. To use an expression often on the lips of the anxious watchmen on the walls of Zion, the churches had little more than a "name to live." The law of 1717, "for the better ordering and regulating parishes and societies," had made the minister the choice of the majority of the townsmen who were voters, thus reversing the early condition, and merging the church into the town. There was another factor in the influences working toward a change, a serious commercial depression, due to years of floating and unstable currency. The currency of Connecticut had been

firmer than that of other colonies, but her paper money experiments from 1714, to 1749, grew more and more demoralizing: in 1740, she owed thirty-nine thousand pounds; taxation was heavy, wages low and prices high, and in the absence of the religious fervor of a century earlier, the people, though mainly descendants of the Puritans, now preëminently commercial in their interests, were discouraged and depressed.

With the relaxing of the morals there was a tightening of the constraint of the law, and the Assembly, in 1723, ordered that there should be a penalty of twenty shillings for attending a preaching service conducted by an unordained minister, and the minister who preached without approval of the Congregational Church should be fined ten pounds and receive thirty stripes for every offense. In May, 1740, it was enacted that every minister, who went to a parish in the care of another minister, to preach or exhort, should be fined a hundred pounds, and if a stranger preached in a parish without the desire or license of the settled minister and the majority of the people, he should be sentenced as a vagrant. Such was the condition through New England when in the Northampton church, one of the most important churches of New England, Jonathan Edwards, son of Rev. Timothy Edwards of South Windsor, preached the sermons in December, 1734, which started the Great Awakening. It was a movement which spread slowly through much of New England, the Jerseys, the backwoods of Pennsylvania, and the southern colonies. There was fever heat in Northampton, and Edwards preached in several Connecticut River towns, setting forth the terrors of God's anger, and the dangers of the impenitent; the eternity of hell torments was described with all the genius of the most powerful intellect in America, and the greatest theologian this country has produced. His sermon in Enfield, July 7, 1741, is a fair sample of the severe side of the preaching of Edwards, Bellamy, and others of that time. This sermon is based on the text, "Their foot shall slide in due time." It contains the often-quoted descrip-



Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758)

From an Old Painting

tion of God holding the sinner over hell forever as one holds a spider over the fire. Toward the close he said:

If you cry to God to pity you, He will be so far from pitying you in your doleful case, or shewing you the least regard or favor, that instead of that, He will only tread you under foot, And though He will know that you cannot bear the weight of omnipotence treading upon you, yet He will not regard that, but He will crush you under His feet without mercy; He will crush out your blood, and make it fly, and it will be sprinkled on His garments, so as to stain all His raiment. He will not only hate you, but He will have you in the utmost contempt; no place will be thought fit for you, but under His feet to be trodden down as the mire of the streets.

It must not be thought that this was the staple of the preaching, for Edwards said that he found no other discourses more effective than those on the divine sovereignty regarding salvation, prayer, and punishment; he also dwelt much on the all-sufficiency of Christ and the joy of a life of faith. The movement spread through Windsor, East Windsor, Coventry, Lebanon, Durham, Stratford, New Haven, Guilford, and Groton. Toward the end of 1735, it waned, to be renewed five years later, when George Whitfield made a tour of the colonies, and was received with an ardor which often became frenzy. On his tour from Hartford to New Haven, he reached Middletown, October 23, 1740, and Nathan Cole of Kensington tells this graphic story of the day:

Now it pleased god to send mr. whitfield into this land & my hearing of his preaching in philadelphia like one of the old aposels, & many thousands flocking after him to hear ye gospel and great numbers were converted to Christ, i felt the spirit of god drawing me by conviction i longed to see & hear him & wished he would come this way and i soon heard he was come to new york & ye jases [Jerseys] & great multitudes flocking after him under great concern for their Soule and many converted wich brought on my concern more & more hoping soon to see him but next i herd he

was on long iland & next at boston & next at northampton & then one morning all on a Suding about 8 or 9 o Clock there came a messenger & said mr. whitfeld preached at hartford & weathersfield yesterday & is to preach at middeltown this morning at 10 o clock i was in my field at work i dropt my tool that i had in my hand & run home & run throu my house & bad my wife get ready quick to go and hear mr. whitfield preach at middeltown & run to my pasture for my hors with all my might fearing i should be too late to hear him i brought my hors home & soon mounted & took my wife up & went forward as fast as i thought ye hors could bear, & when my hors began to be out of breath i would get down & put my wife on ye saddel & bid her ride as fast as she could & not Stop or Slak for me except i bad her & so i woould run untill i was almost out of breth & then mount my hors again & so i did severel times to favour my hors we improved every moment to get along as if we was fleeing for our lives all this while fearing we should be too late to hear ye Sarmon for we had twelve miles to ride dubble in littel more than an hour & we went round by the upper housen & parish & when we came within about half a mile of ye road that comes down from hartford weathersfield & stepney to middeltown on high land i saw before me a cloud or fog rising i first thought of from ye great river but as i came nearer ye road i heard a noise something like a low rumbling thunder & i presently found it was ye rumbling of horses feet coming down ye road & this Cloud was a Cloud of dust made by the running of horses feet it arose some rods into ye air over the tops of ye hills and trees & when i came within about twenty rods of ye road i could see men and horses Sliping along in ye Cloud like shadows & when i came nearer it was like a stedy streem of horses & their riders scarcely a horse more then his length behind another all of a lather and some with swet ther breath rooling out of their noistrels in ye cloud of dust every jump every hors semed to go with all his might to carry his rider to hear ye news from heaven for ye saving of their Souls it made me trembel to see ye Sight how ye world was in a strugle i found a vacance between two horses to Slip in my hors & my wife said law our cloaths will be all spoiled see how they look for they was so covered with dust that thay looked allmost all of a coler coats & hats & shirts & horses We went down in ye Streem i hird no

Laurel in Winchester. Laurel Is the State Flower

Birthplace of Jonathan Edwards, South Windsor

From a Photo

man speak a word all ye way three mile but evry one presing forward in great hast & when we gat down to ye old meating house thare was a great multitude it was said to be 3 or 4000 of people asembled together we gat of from our horses & shook off ye dust & ye ministers was then coming to ye meating house i turned & looked toward ye great river & saw the fery boats running swift forward & backward bringing over loads of people ye ores roed nimble & quick everything men horses & boats all seamed to be struglin for life ye land & ye banks over ye river lookt black with people & horses all along ye 12 miles i see no man at work in his field but all seamed to be gone—when i see mr. whitfield come up upon ye Scaffil he looked almost angellical a young slim slender youth before some thousands of people & with a bold undainted countenance & my hearing how god was with him everywhere as he came along it solumnized my mind & put me in a trembling fear before he began to preach for he looked as if he was Cloathed with authority from ye great god, & a sweet Solemnity sat upon his brow & my hearing him preach gave me a heart wound by gods blessing my old foundation was broken up & i saw that my righteousness would not save me then i was convinced of ye doctrine of Election & went rigt to quareling with god about it because all that i could do would not save me & he had decreed from Eternity who should be saved & who not i began to think i was not Elected & that god made some for heaven & me for hell & i thought god was not Just in so doing i thought i did not stand on even Ground with others if as i thought i was made to be damned my heart then rose against god exceedigly for his making me for hell now this distress lasted almost two years.

George Whitefield was twenty-six years old, and with his intense earnestness, marvelous voice, dramatic power and personal magic he could empty the pocket of the cool Franklin, hold spellbound the skeptical Hume, the scientific Franklin, and the brilliant Garrick, but he developed a fault-finding, censorious spirit, which found expression in drastic criticisms of ministers who did not agree with his methods, such as glorying in outcries, ecstasies, and swoonings.

Edwards records: "I thought Mr. Whitefield liked me not so well for my opposing those things." The sweeping temper of the zealous evangelist is suggested by the record he made in his journal at the close of his first New England tour, that "many, nay most that preach, do not experimentally know Christ." He also went so far as to condemn the two colleges, Harvard and Yale, because they had held aloof from his frantic appeals to the nervous system as well as to the consciences of his hearers. Of these he said: "Their Light has become Darkness, Darkness that may be felt." These divisive utterances and this censorious spirit found vigorous echoes in men like Rev. Gilbert Tennent and Rev. James Davenport, who delighted in meetings thus described by Dr. Chauncy of Boston:

> The meeting was carried on with what appeared to me great Confusion; some screaming out in Distress and Anguish; some praying; others singing; some jumping up and down: others exhorting; some lying along on the floor, and others walking and talking: The whole with a very great noise, to be heard at a mile's distance, and continued almost the whole night.

A town was thrown into consternation because two children of eleven and thirteen had a vision of the Book of Life in which the heavenly bookkeeper had left the Lebanon page blank paper. During this religious fervor and nerve excitement there were communities which gave themselves up to a kind of debauch of emotion, which was supposed to require three stages: a heart-rending misery over one's sinfulness, a complete willingness to be saved or lost as God wills, and ecstasy when one came to feel that he was one of God's elect.

Before Whitefield's second tour, in 1744, a division had arisen among ministers and churches, the General Assembly had taken action to suppress irregular preaching, and several preachers were put into jail, while the wave of excitement subsided as rapidly as it rose. The results were varied:

there was a deepening of religious thought in some minds; there was a revolt against conventional religion with many; a break in the Congregational or Established churches; a division into denominations; the passing of the Half-way Covenant, and the springing up of the famous New England theology. An incident will illustrate the condition in many communities. In 1744, Ebenezer and John Cleveland of Canterbury, Yale students preparing for the ministry, while home on vacation attended meetings at which Separatist or unordained preachers addressed the fervent people, who found the Congregational churches chilly and forbidding; on returning to college they were summoned before President Clap and called to account. They admitted that they had gone to hear Solomon Paine "exercise his gift," as had a majority of the people of their town; they did not realize that it was a Separatist meeting, and did not suppose that they were violating a college law. The president told them that the law of God and of the college was one, and after a severe cross-questioning, a bill was read in the hall before faculty and students declaring that the two young men had violated the laws of God, the colony, and the college by attending a Separatist meeting, and that they were suspended from the college; on refusing to make a public confession of their sin they were expelled from college, and forbidden to enter any college room lest other students be infected with the poison.

In many communities the Separatists built churches of their own; in Windham County there was one in nearly every town, and the preaching was Biblical and often powerful, but the revival spirit soon flagged, and through lack of education and the creation of sermons out of dreams and visions in contempt of scholarship, the preaching became thin. Enmities, fault-finding, and quarrels soon became as common among the New Lights as the Old. The leaders of the Old Lights criticized the New Lights for their irregularities and sensationalism, while the New Lights

retorted with such terms as "Dead Dogs," "Lying Shepherds," "Followers of the Beast and Dragon," and said that horrible damnation awaited those who were leading their flocks to hell. Tennent speaks of the regular ministers as "Hirelings, caterpillars, Pharisees, Seed of the Serpent, dead dogs." The leaders of the Congregational churches had the power, and were willing to use it, to bring offenders against the established religion under the severities of the law. A poor man's meat and grain which he had laid up for his family for winter were seized to pay the salary of the minister, whose preaching he loathed, and the farmer was thrust into jail. Church quarrels blossomed; obstinacy, hard words and neighborhood strife were frequent; fifty families in Canterbury called their minister an unconverted man, and for meeting in a private house for worship were arrested, fined and imprisoned. Goods were often sold for half price to pay the taxes, and in one town where the New Lights got control of the town, the property of the aged Old Light minister was assessed at four times its value. One widow lady in Norwich was taken from her home on a dark night in October, 1752, at about nine o'clock, and carried to jail by the collector, and was kept there thirteen days, until her tax was paid, but without her consent, by her son-in-law, General Jabez Huntington.

We have seen that, according to the Saybrook Platform of 1708, every one was taxed to support the Congregational church in the town where he lived, and in 1727, the General Assembly passed an act which cut the bond between church and town partly in two, permitting any society of the Church of England to form in a town, and excused its members from paying rates to the Congregational church. The old church was to be known as the "Prime Ancient Society," with a right to tax all who were not members of any church, and in 1729, the act of 1727, was extended to Quakers and Baptists. The new churches formed after the Great Awakening could not enjoy the privileges granted to

Episcopalians, Quakers, and Baptists, for they claimed to be true Congregationalists, and in 1744, fourteen members of the Saybrook Separatist church were arrested for "holding a meeting contrary to law on God's holy Sabbath day"; they were arraigned, fined, and driven through deep mud twenty-five miles on foot to New London, where they were thrust into prison for refusing to pay their fines, were left there without fire, food, or beds, and there they remained for many weeks, dependent on neighboring Baptists for bread. An incident connected with the church troubles at Ashford suggests the temper in some communities; the pastor, a Mr. Bass, was charged with lack of orthodoxy, and at his trial he was asked the question, "Sir, don't you think that a child brings sin enough into the world with it to damn it forever?" The minister replied that he did not, and that was enough to cut him off from his parish.

In 1750, the revision of the laws, which had been under consideration for eight years by such able men as Roger Wolcott, Jonathan Trumbull, and Thomas Fitch, governors afterwards, and John Bulkley, Judge of the Superior Court, was completed. The omission of all persecuting acts from this revision was evidence that the worst features of the quarrel between the Old Lights and the New Lights were passing. But the Saybrook Platform continued in force, and there was no provision to exempt the Congregational Separatists from taxation to support the Established church. In 1753, more than twenty Separatist churches, representing a thousand members, united in an appeal to the Assembly, complaining of the distraining of goods for taxes for the Established churches, and of the danger to civil peace because of these evils, and when the Assembly refused redress, the petition, with authenticated records and the seal of Connecticut, was sent to London, to the King's Most Excellency in Council. The English Committee of Dissenters feared that it might anger the king and endanger the charter. Meanwhile the Old Lights were slowly gaining common

sense: in 1755, President Clap established the college church at Yale; that powerful Old Light became a political New Light to get his students away from the controversies in the town church. It was getting a little late for Inquisition methods in Connecticut, and one church after another, on occasion of dispute with its minister, took the opportunity to repudiate the Saybrook Platform, and reassert the primitive freedom of the churches. This number increased until the General Assembly gave up the contest. About 1780, the original right of every church to govern itself came into play again, and the seventy years' captivity to the Presbyterian method came to a close. In 1791, all religious bodies were allowed the right of free incorporation; but persons unconnected with any church were still required to pay rates to the established Congregational organization, until the constitution of 1818, made all such contributions voluntary. Near the close of the eighteenth century the custom of selling the pews to the highest bidder began; it was in 1791, that the first annual sale was held in Norwich. The custom also came in of buying pews to raise money to build meeting-houses.

It is pure guesswork to attempt to give the number received into the churches in the Great Awakening of 1740–42; Dexter imagines forty or fifty thousand, other writers say ten thousand out of a population of three hundred thousand. Great preachers arose: the powerful theologians, such as the elder and younger Edwards, Emmons, Hopkins, Bellamy, West, and Dwight; New England theology had its birth; Baptist churches felt a powerful impetus; Episcopalians added many to their numbers; the Established churches were revitalized; a path blazed for a downfall of the Saybrook system and the separation of church and state in 1818. In some ways the Great Awakening was, like the Crusades, a time of confusion, stirring sluggish minds and bringing in a new era. The means were drastic and many of the effects bitter and divisive, but on the whole it

was a genuine awakening, which led to larger toleration, a more genial and Scriptural theology, an interest in education, missions, and philanthropy, the passing of the parish despotism, and an uplift which promoted the Revolution. It is a significant fact that Samuel J. Mills, who is called the Father of Foreign Missions in America, was born in Torrington in 1783, and before the century closed Connecticut was taking the lead of all other states in home missions.

This is as good a place as any other to speak of the influence of Connecticut in theology in America. It is scarcely too much to say that this commonwealth has produced more theologians than all the rest of the country. The two men who have been most influential are Edwards and Bushnell; the former was born in East Windsor, October 3, 1703, and the latter in Litchfield, April 14, 1802. Joseph Bellamy was born in New Cheshire in 1719, was pastor at Bethlehem from 1738, to 1790, and was teacher of sixty students in days before there were theological seminaries. Bellamy was opposed to the Half-way Covenant, and he was the most powerful preacher in the state. More powerful as a thinker was Samuel Hopkins, who was born in Waterbury, developed still further the Calvinism of Edwards, and was the first minister in New England to oppose slavery openly. Nathanael Emmons was born in East Haddam in 1745; he was a pupil of John Smalley of New Britain, and trained a hundred young ministers, doing more than any one else to create the later Congregationalism. Steven West was born in Tolland in 1735, and was a profound scholar and thinker. John Smalley was born in Columbia, and in his pastorate of over fifty years in New Britain he stood opposed to the fanaticism of the Separatists and the worldliness of the Half-way Covenant. He trained many strong ministers for their pulpits, and had a marked influence on Oliver Ellsworth and Jeremiah Mason. Timothy Dwight, through his great sermons at New Haven, was the powerful leader out of the religious decline which threatened to over-

whelm the Connecticut churches. Dwight's work belongs to a later period, but he was one of the fruits of the Great Awakening, as were all the men just mentioned, except Edwards, the father of it. Jonathan Edwards, the younger, was pastor in New Haven for twenty-five years, and had a decided influence in forming the New England theology. It is not easy to characterize the theology of these sons of the Great Awakening; they were all decided Calvinists, modified according to their individual way of thinking, but they were men of power, and every one contributed to the development of the people in their ideas of personal liberty. The impression that the sermons were uniformly long and dry is an exaggeration, and there were men of originality and humor in the ministry, like Josiah Dwight of Woodstock, who said, "If unconverted men ever got to heaven, they would feel as uneasy as a shad up the crotch of a white oak." There was some disagreement between this man and neighboring ministers, and when they met him in the interests of harmony, he prayed that they "might so hitch their horses together on earth that they should never kick in the stables of everlasting salvation." Keen wit, and sharp repartee characterized the conversation of many.

The one-man rule in the local church is often referred to critically, and there was an occasional domineering of a local minister, but in the main it did little harm, for the laymen were independent in judgment and outspoken in speech, and the ministers feared their people quite as much as the people did the ministers. Neither side dared to go too far for the minister was supposed to be settled for life and to break off his pastorate midway would be regarded as little short of a disgrace, while the coming of a new minister would involve the church in a heavy expense to buy a farm and build a house *for settlement*. As a rule ministers were close friends and faithful counselors of their people in all things; often arbiters in disputed rights; moral guardians and teachers of all. The people were interested to hear their

earnest and fervid ministers send bulletins heavenward on the life of the parish, sometimes making personal mention of the actors, recounting the questions at issue in the state, anathematizing the enemy, and acknowledging the sovereignty of God in the fall of a sparrow and the downfall of Charles I. Many of the ministers were strong, logical thinkers. It was a stiff proposition to claim, as Hopkins would do, that a man should be willing to be damned for the glory of God, but whoever did not believe it must stand ready to give the reason why. Steven West, preaching regularly to six judges of the courts, training in his study President Kirkland of Harvard and Samuel Spring, one of the founders of Andover Seminary and of the American Board of Foreign Missions, was not the only minister with an influence deep and wide. With all its evils, its bitterness and strife, its persecutions, and animosities, the Great Awakening must be considered as a most valuable and thorough experience in undermining the Saybrook Platform, demolishing the Half-way Covenant, stimulating the people to independent judgment, encouraging free speech, and in helping to bring the interests of church and state forward a little toward a condition in which liberty and common sense could have freer play. The results of agitation and evolution found expression in the "Laws and Acts of the State of Connecticut," appearing in 1784, in which there was no reference to the Saybrook Platform; all ecclesiastical laws were grouped under three heads entitled Rights of Conscience, Regulation of Societies, and Observance of the Sabbath. Whoever absented himself from public worship on the Lord's day for any trivial reason should pay a fine of three shillings or fifty cents. All religious bodies recognized by law were permitted to manage their temporal affairs as freely as the Establishment. While legislation favored the Establishment, toleration was extended more freely. Strangers and minors could choose their church home, but all must choose. Thus the Saybrook Platform disappeared from the statute book; oppression ceased; the

smaller sects that appeared after 1770, were not persecuted. The Sandemanians came in about 1766; the Shakers were permitted to form a settlement at Enfield in 1780; the Universalists began making converts among the Separatist churches of Norwich as early as 1772; in 1784, there was organized at New London the first Seventh-day Baptist Church in Connecticut. We have to wait until after 1818, before we find the riper fruits of the Great Awakening, but with all drawbacks it must be regarded as a stimulating and valuable experience.

CHAPTER XX

THE REVOLUTION

OUR study of the settlement and early history of Connecticut makes it easy to imagine the part it took in the struggle with England for freedom. The preparation, in the quality and training of the people, as well as in the institutions established, was singularly valuable. Many of the population of nearly two hundred thousand whites had been trained to caution, energy, self-restraint, initiative, and independent judgment by the French and Indian wars; by parrying with English kings, by a long succession of able and patriotic governors, by constant alertness to hold their own with her neighbors, and by a charter which was an ideal for all the other colonies. Then too, an efficient local self-government and commercial prosperity had given strength and confidence to the naturally self-reliant citizens, equipping them for an intelligent and powerful stand for what they believed was right.

When the news of the proposed Stamp Act arrived in 1763, the General Assembly appointed, in a secret and careful manner, three of its ablest disputants to argue in its favor, and three equally able to argue against it, that it might hold well-balanced convictions. One of the earliest resolves of that session was the appointment of a strong committee to assist Governor Fitch to set in order the objections to the Act. Jared Ingersoll, one of this committee, was commissioned to confer with Richard Jackson, agent of the colony in England,

on the subject; it is reported that George Grenville praised the tone in which the Connecticut "Reasons" were written and admitted that the arguments were the best that he had seen, though fallacious. The measure passed the House of Commons March 22, 1765, and soon afterwards Governor Fitch called his council together to take an oath to cause "all and every one of the clauses [of the Act] to be punctually and bona fide observed," according to the requirements of the Stamp Act. There was a heated debate, and when the time-limit for the oath came, and it was proposed to administer it, Jonathan Trumbull, Eliphalet Dyer, Hezekiah Huntington, Elisha Sheldon, Matthew Griswold, Shubal Conant, and Jabez Huntington indignantly withdrew, refusing to witness a ceremony, which, as Dyer insisted, was "contrary to the oath the governor and council had before taken to maintain the rights and liberties of the people." The oath was administered in the presence of a minority of four of the council. The political future of Governor Fitch was sealed, and after three years of Governor William Pitkin, Jonathan Trumbull, the famous War Governor held the office until 1784. The temper of Governor Trumbull is seen from the following sentences from a broadside he issued as the mouthpiece of the Assembly, June 18, 1776, to be published in the churches, appealing to the "virtue and public spirit of the good people of this colony":

> Affairs are hastening fast to a crisis, and the approaching campaign will in all probability determine forever the fate of America. Be exhorted to rise therefore to superior exertions on this great occasion; and let all that are able and necessary shew themselves ready in behalf of their injured and oppressed country, and come forth to the help of the Lord against the mighty, and convince the unrelenting tyrant of Great Britain that they are resolved to be FREE.

Jonathan Trumbull was the head of a popular movement, and a trusted friend of Washington who, in dark days of the

Jonathan Trumbull (1710–85)

From a Painting by George F. Wright in Memorial Hall, Connecticut State Library

war, when the army was in serious need of supplies, was wont to say, "We'll see what Brother Jonathan can do for us." The ministers were preaching against the Act; volunteer organizations, calling themselves "Sons of Liberty," were patrolling the country, when Ingersoll returned with a commission as stamp-master. On reaching New Haven he found the people in a ferment. On September 17, 1765, he was requested by vote of the town meeting to resign his office at once. Ingersoll told the people that he would apply to the General Assembly for confirmation in his office, and set out for Hartford. Before reaching Wethersfield, he was met by an escort of the Sons of Liberty who attended him to the old Broad Street Green, where he was surrounded by a contingent of five hundred mounted men, under the command of Major John Durkee of Norwich, in the absence of Colonel Israel Putnam, disabled by an accident. Ingersoll was forced to sign a paper resigning his office, to give three cheers for *Liberty* and *Property*, and he was then escorted to the Assembly Hall in Hartford, where he read his resignation in public. Ingersoll rode a white horse, and when asked how he felt riding from Wethersfield to Hartford, he said he never before understood the meaning of the verse in the Revelation, which speaks of "death on a pale horse, with all hell following."

In 1774, Roger Sherman of New Haven, Silas Deane of Wethersfield, and Eliphalet Dyer of Windham were appointed delegates to the Continental Congress, and the towns, after the Connecticut fashion of little commonwealths, took action: condemned the ministry; appointed committees of safety; appropriated money to buy arms and powder, and after the Stamp Act was repealed in 1766, and the Boston Port Bill was enacted, sent large supplies to the needy people there. The gift of Norwich was much applauded, as it consisted of money, grain, and a flock of three hundred and ninety sheep. The records of the votes of the Assembly show a keen interest in the appointment of officers for the train-bands of

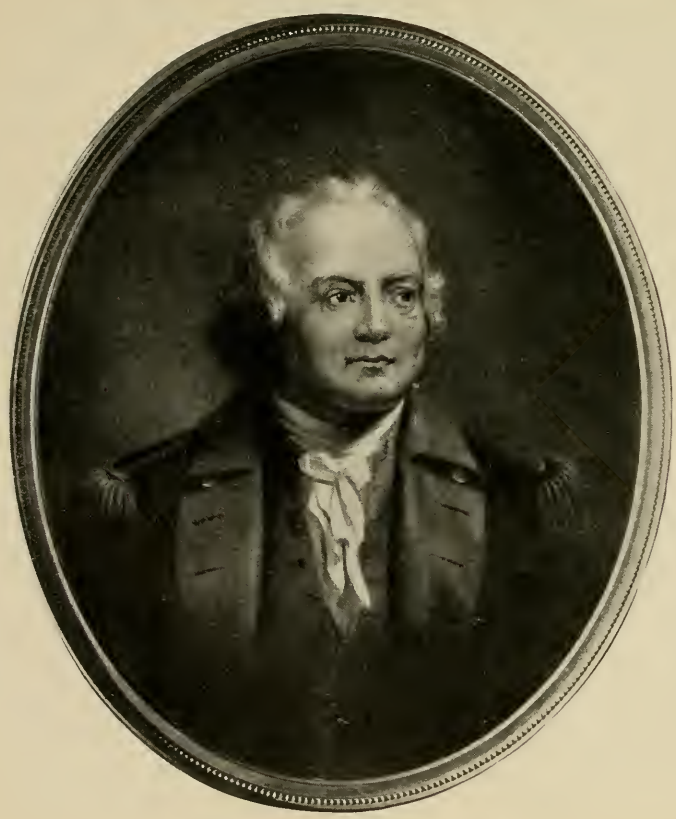
committees of correspondence with other colonies, and directions regarding attendance at the drills of military companies. There was no regular uniform for the militia then, nor for years, rifle frocks and trousers being much worn. Among the words of command in training, before and after the command to "Poise arms," were "Put your right hand to the firelock"—"Put your left hand to the firelock." An odd kind of aspirate was sometimes used in command, thus: "Shoulder! hoo!" No other colony had a more complete military organization, and the marshaling of militia was made as thorough as possible. It was voted that the governor be captain-general, the deputy governor lieutenant-general, that all military companies should be formed into regiments, and in every regiment there should be colonel, lieutenant-colonel, and major, appointed by the General Assembly. All men from sixteen to sixty, except those exempted by law, were to bear arms, and muster in thirteen regiments. To every regiment there was to be one troop of horse, and an inspection of the army on the first Monday in May, besides several training days. In the autumn of 1776, there were six brigades, with their generals, and two major-generals, who had power to call forth the militia; the number subject to military duty was twenty-six thousand.

The charter of Charles II. gave such union and harmony; the people in the towns were so thoroughly trained in governing themselves; the governor was in such complete sympathy with the plans of the insurgents in the other colonies, that there was no delay in Connecticut, but prompt, considerate and determined action. Moreover, this colony was well off; its forests had poured forth their wealth; its valleys had produced liberally; its commerce was extensive; its towns were growing richer. It was called the "provision colony," and its manufactures were multiplying. It sent two hundred sail to the West Indies, and there were three men in Hartford who were worth sixteen thousand pounds

apiece. The people were vehement republicans; the Boston Port Bill was burnt with great contempt by the public hangman. Six months before the Lexington fight, General Gage seized a powder-house near Beacon Hill; the news spread through the colony calling the people to arms in defense of Boston, and before it could be countermanded, thousands were on the road. On September 15, 1774, a meeting, which has been called the first "Hartford Convention" was held, in which strong resolutions were passed on non-consumption and monopoly. Sons of Liberty had their contingents in every town, and Liberty Poles were erected; one in Haddam was nearly one hundred and fifty feet high bearing a union flag with the emblem of Liberty fighting the cause of America against tyranny. The General Assembly, which met in New Haven in 1774, was patriotic and determined; six months later it voted to raise six regiments for special defense, authorized the purchase of three thousand stands of arms, issued bills of credit to the amount of fifty thousand pounds, and laid a tax of seven pence. The anniversary of the Boston Port Bill was celebrated in some towns with ringing of bells, the closing of shops, and decorations of black. After the affair at Lexington, the Second Company of the Governor's Foot Guard was the first to reach Cambridge; soldiers hastened from all parts of the colony, until some four thousand had gathered; at a special session of the General Assembly, summoned by Governor Trumbull, a committee was appointed to wait on General Gage with a letter from the governor, and six regiments were ordered to mobilize. The first military success was the capture of Ticonderoga. Learning of the possibility of success in an attack upon that important fort on the highway to Canada, April 28, 1775, a self-constituted "committee" composed of Silas Deane, Samuel Wyllys, S. H. Parsons, Christopher Leffingwell, Thomas Mumford, and Adam Babcock, signed notes on the treasury for money to send Colonel Ethan Allen

with his Green Mountain Boys to the first conquest of the Revolution.

The leading military man in the colony was Israel Putnam of Pomfret, who had achieved a reputation in previous wars for nerve and courage. The first message from the governor to Putnam found him ploughing, according to the testimony of his son, an eye-witness, though Bancroft says he was building a stone wall. He rode his horse to Boston, reaching the town in time for the council of war, April 19, 1775. He was followed by volunteers from Connecticut, who had seen service in French and Indian wars. Putnam was commissioned major-general and two other officers from the colony were made brigadier-generals. The General Assembly provided for the emission of one hundred thousand pounds in bills of credit, to pay for the equipment of eight regiments of militia. An evidence of the forethought of Trumbull and the other leaders of Connecticut was, that when the battle of Bunker Hill was fought, and the ammunition in the hands of the Americans consisted of only sixty-three half-barrels of powder, thirty-six was a present from the colony of Connecticut. The Council of Safety, which voted this supply, had been appointed in May, 1775, to "assist His Honor the Governor when the Assembly is not sitting." This Council was maintained throughout the war, and in the "War-office" at Lebanon (now restored), eleven hundred meetings of this Council were held during the Revolution. No other colony deserves more credit than Connecticut for efficiency in meeting situations which tested wisdom and pocket-book through the struggle. In that terrible winter at Valley Forge, when death by starvation and freezing faced the army, the urgent letters of Washington to Trumbull, stating that the army must disband, if relief did not arrive speedily, led the Council of Safety to place in the hands of Colonel Henry Champion and Peter Colt two hundred thousand dollars for the purchase of *live beef*, to send to the army. Those droves, with the exception of one



General Israel Putnam (1718–1790)

From the Painting by H. I. Thompson, in the State House, Hartford, Conn.

Silas Deane (1737–1789)

From the Portrait by Jared B. Flagg in the Gallery of the Connecticut Historical Society, Painted from a Miniature Made in Paris when Deane Was about Forty Years Old

hundred and fifty head of cattle, which fell into the hands of the enemy, were safely delivered in midwinter to the army, having been driven some three hundred miles under the personal direction of Colonel Champion and his son Epaphroditus. The first installment of cattle was devoured by the soldiers in five days. Thus Jonathan Trumbull, seasoned by more than forty years of public life, vindicated his right to the title, "The presiding genius of Connecticut during the American conflict."

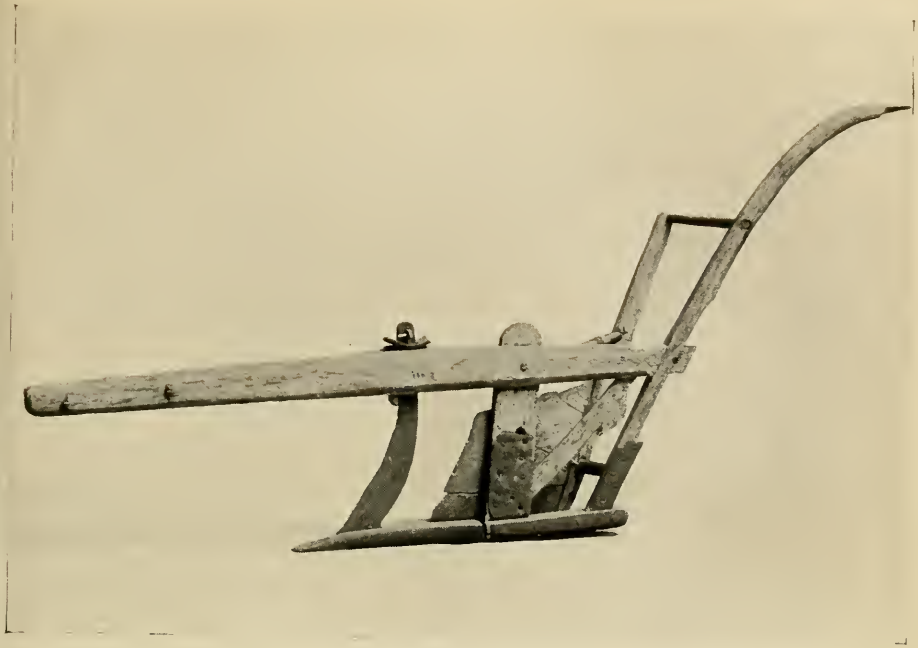
In common with the soldiers of the other colonies, accustomed to Indian warfare, and unused to military discipline, the campaigns were somewhat irregular until Baron Steuben, whose commission was insisted on by Silas Deane, the Connecticut agent in Paris, introduced the tactics of Frederick the Great, taught the use of bayonets, improved the military staff, and practically organized the army. The first cavalry regiment in the war was formed in Litchfield County by Colonel Elisha Sheldon of Salisbury. When Putnam wrote Governor Trumbull that six thousand men were expected from Connecticut, that number was speedily mobilized. General Putnam's services at Boston were important, superintending fortifications, keeping the men busy in many ways, because, as his son says, "experience had taught him that raw and undisciplined troops must be employed in some way or other, or they would soon become vicious and unmanageable." At the Council of Safety and Council of War, Putnam, Prescott, and Palmer urged the fortifying of Bunker Hill, though Ward and Warren opposed, but the rail and stone barricade, hastily put up, played a valuable part in the battle and the retreat. The question, who commanded in the battle, has been much discussed, and perhaps the best answer is that in that early stage of the struggle every man did the best he could. Prescott commanded at the redoubt, and Putnam, the ranking officer on the field, withdrew his men with their intrenching tools from Prescott, and planned to throw up earthworks on the higher eminence, now known

as Bunker Hill, and toward the end of the retreat he assumed a general command, and directed the fortifying of Prospect Hill. Fearless and vigorous, Putnam was eager to be where he was most needed; now riding at breakneck speed to Cambridge for reinforcements; now giving his famous order, "Wait till you see the whites of their eyes before you fire"; at last vainly attempting to rally the forces for a final stand. The only soldiers at Bunker Hill, except those of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, were from Connecticut, and at the siege of Boston, Connecticut had twenty-three hundred of the sixteen thousand soldiers.

A record in the handwriting of Governor Trumbull states that it was voted by the Council on June 7, 1775, to send fifty barrels of one hundred and eight pounds each, "on application from the General Committee of Safety and Supplies for Massachusetts, and on desire of Brigadier General Putnam . . . on the present emergency for use of the camp at Cambridge and Roxbury." Putnam was no politician, and there was some opposition to commissioning him by the Continental Congress in preference to Wooster, but no one could question his ability as a fighter. Silas Deane, one of the Connecticut members in Congress, liked Putnam's bluff, hearty ways; writing to his wife, July 20, Deane said:

> He is the toast of the army; I am glad the good and virtuous of Connecticut are willing to stand by the resolutions of Congress in the appointment of General Putnam. He does not wear a large wig, nor screw his countenance into a form that belies the sentiments of his generous soul; he is no adept either at politics or religious canting and cozening: he is no shake-hand body: he therefore is totally unfit for everything but fighting.

In the campaign of 1776, Connecticut was first to rally in New York. The force was met on the borders of the colony by the timid and vacillating Committee of Safety, but the orders of Washington had the right of way, and Connecticut troops were the first to plant the standard of



Israel Putnam's Plow

The Putnam Wolf Den, Pomfret, Conn.

independence in New York, under command of Putnam. That position they maintained until Washington arrived in April. At the beginning of the preparations on Long Island, Washington had twenty-five thousand men, the largest army at any one time during the Revolution, and of this Connecticut furnished one-third. All but two of the Connecticut regiments were in New York in that campaign. Connecticut was in a critical situation during much of the war, between two large British armies at Newport and New York, with a strong fleet of the enemy on the Sound. It was a time of hardship; the men were generally in the army; women, old men, and boys tilled the fields as best they could.

In November, 1775, a committee of Congress, composed of Franklin, Jay, Morris, Dickinson, and Harrison, selected Silas Deane of Wethersfield to go to Paris and secure military supplies of all kinds, of which the army was in great need, as there were few cannon, little powder and shot, and the guns made by the village blacksmiths were scanty. When Deane reached France, July 6, 1776, he found everything arranged by Vergennes, the French minister of foreign affairs, and though England and France were at peace, the ingenious and devoted Beaumarchais and the efficient and tireless Deane solved the problem of transferring the indispensable clothing, cannon, mortars, muskets, powder, shot, and tents to America; only half of one cargo of the eight shiploads embarked failed of reaching Portsmouth, N. H. When Burgoyne surrendered at Saratoga, in the decisive victory of 1777, a victory which led the doubtful French to make treaties of friendship and commerce with the revolting colonies on the following February, the army, at whose feet the British regulars laid down their arms, was clothed, armed, and furnished with artillery sent over by Silas Deane.

When Stonington was attacked by the British, those left at home made a resolute defense; when Tryon marched on New Haven, the citizens, even to Daggett, the minister and

college president, rallied with their muskets. The zeal and patriotism of the people found efficient expression in the action of the General Assembly, the tireless watchfulness of the Council of Safety and the matchless Governor Trumbull. The correspondence between Washington and Trumbull was of a mutually trustful nature throughout the struggle, and so sagacious was the governor that we find Washington writing to Trumbull:

I have full confidence in your most ready assistance on every occasion, and that such measures as appear to you most likely to advance the public good, in this and every instance will be most cheerfully adopted. . . . I have nothing to suggest for the consideration of your Assembly; I am confident that they will not be wanting in their exertions for supporting the just and constitutional rights of the colonies.

The women vied with the men in patriotic devotion. When Shubael Dimmock of Mansfield reached home in winter and in rags, for a short furlough, and there was no cloth in the house, there was a web of warp drawn into the loom, and an old black sheep that was nibbling around the dooryard was caught, sheared, bundled down cellar in a blanket, and in forty-eight hours Dimmock was on his way to the army with a new suit of clothes, since mother, wife, sisters, and neighbors worked with swift hands. In the fearful winter of 1777–78, Governor Trumbull and J. L. Hazard of Rhode Island stumped the counties of Washington and New London urging the women to "commence making yarn and knitting stockings for the suffering army," and thousands of cartridges were made by the Plainfield women. There was a widow in Thompson who brewed a barrel of beer every day of one summer to stand by her door to refresh wayworn soldiers. Hardship was experienced among the people by lack of salt and molasses. When a vessel laden with molasses and belonging to a Tory reached Stonington in 1776, it was seized by some men from Norwich, and with the

Nathan Hale, a Bronze Statue in the Connecticut State Capitol

From a Photo by Randall & Blackmore

approval of the legislature, it was doled out for the neediest uses, including forty hogsheads to be distilled for the use of the soldiers.

Among the Connecticut martyrs to the cause was Thomas Knowlton, who commanded two hundred men at the famous rail breastwork at Bunker Hill, who after the Long Island defeat led a small body of picked men, known as Knowlton's Rangers; in his company of one hundred and twenty men were such officers as Nathan Hale of Coventry, Stephen Brown of Woodstock, Thomas Grovesner of Pomfret, and Thomas U. Fosdick of New London. In the engagement of September 16, 1776, the Rangers did much to turn the tide of battle, but with the sad result of the death of Colonel Knowlton, who was mentioned in the general orders of the following day as "the gallant and brave Col. Knowlton, who would have been an honor to any country." As he was carried from the field, he said, "I do not value my life, if we do but get the day." Gasping in the agony of death, his only anxiety was to drive the enemy, and he said to his son, "You can do me no good, go, fight for your country." While Knowlton was leading the Rangers, one of the noblest of the band, Nathan Hale, was engaged in a service equally dangerous. It was impossible for Washington to secure information of vital importance to him after the battle of Long Island, without sending a spy within the enemies' lines. As soon as Hale, a young graduate of Yale of the class of 1773, heard of the service needed, he volunteered to fulfill the perilous task. Disguised as a schoolmaster, he crossed the lines, gained the knowledge, and was arrested while awaiting the boat by which he was to return. His words as he paid the penalty of his devotion, September 22, 1776, can never weaken: "I only regret that I have but one life to give for my country."

A foil to such men as these is the career of Benedict Arnold, brilliant, gallant, resourceful, and in the end ignominious. Born in Norwich in 1741, he led the brave, but ill-

fated expedition to Quebec, fought an obstinate naval battle off Plattsburg, chased Tryon from Danbury, fought bravely at Saratoga, married a loyalist, and while in command in Philadelphia had trouble with the city government, which brought charges against him, some of which were false and the rest frivolous; was acquitted; was eulogized by Washington, who offered him the highest position in the army next to himself; stooped to the basest treason, was used by the British to lead the meanest of all expeditions, and at the end shortly before his death, on June 14, 1801, is said to have put on his old uniform, asking God to forgive him for wearing another. A few weeks before the fall of Cornwallis, on September 6, 1781, Benedict Arnold led the most atrocious attack of the war, assaulting New London and Groton, towns but thirteen miles from his birthplace. Two small forts, Trumbull and Griswold, had been hastily built, and both were under the command of Colonel William Ledyard. The attack was a surprise, Fort Trumbull was taken with a rush and Ledyard gathered his men in Fort Griswold. After Arnold had burned the town and the shipping, he stormed Fort Griswold, which was bravely defended. When at last Ledyard surrendered, the sword he gave up was plunged into his own breast, and many of his men butchered in cold blood. Colonel William Ledyard will always be remembered as an intrepid soldier, who with one hundred and fifty farmers bravely resisted eight hundred veterans of the British army, until the invaders poured in from two opposite sides of the fort. In 1777, Tryon, the royalist governor of New York, with a force of two thousand men and twenty-five vessels, landed at Saugatuck, marched to Danbury, April 26, destroyed the stores gathered there and a large part of the town, but carefully spared Tory property. There were some Continental soldiers in the neighborhood, and the two generals, Wooster and Arnold. The latter rallied all the regulars and militia available, and headed off Tryon on his retreat, at Ridgefield. Wooster was mortally wounded in the

The Groton Monument Commemorating the Battle of September 6, 1781

From a Photograph

battle, and Arnold pursued the British to their ships. In retaliation, Colonel Meigs crossed the Sound from New Haven in whaleboats to Sag Harbor, attacked the place near midnight, burned twelve vessels and many stores, and returned with ninety prisoners. The invasions of Tryon, whose fleet had lingered threateningly along the coast, brought much suffering to Connecticut in 1779. On July 3, as the people of New Haven were preparing to celebrate the Declaration of Independence, the town was thrown into alarm by the news that Tryon's fleet of forty-eight sail had dropped anchor at West Haven, and three thousand men were on the march for the city. They advanced in two detachments, one marching from West Haven, the other capturing a small fort at Black Rock, then meeting the first contingent on the common at one o'clock. The town was plundered until the next morning, and acts of cruelty and destruction of property are described in the traditions. On July 8, Tryon destroyed Fairfield, also Green's Farms. Norwalk was the next to go up in flames; and at the next landing, so many resolute men met him that he retired. His loss of three hundred men in the plundering expeditions was a severe punishment, and the injury inflicted on Connecticut was less.

We cannot say much about the share of Connecticut in the navy of the Revolution, though Silas Deane, while in Congress, did all he could toward obtaining vessels, a work which he continued when in Paris, for which he has been called *The Father of the American Navy.* Privateers were fitted out in the colony, and the captures by Connecticut ships in 1777, amounted to two hundred thousand pounds. The Connecticut navy was a motley fleet, from whaleboats to frigates, and there was difficulty in securing armament, though early in the war the iron-works of Benjamin Williams and Ebenezer Backus in their foundry at Salisbury, making cannon and balls, and James Tilley manufacturing cordage, met the need in part. In 1777, two frigates were built in Connecticut for the war, the *Trumbull* and the

Confederacy. Admiral George F. Emmons compiled a list of the privateers fitted out in the state, and he made a total of two hundred vessels, carrying sixteen hundred guns and nearly eight thousand men, though it is impossible to be accurate, as names and descriptions of the ships are so confused. Many captures were made by the privateers, and the influence of these vessels on the British fleet cruising through the Sound was valuable. We have also to mention that the first marine torpedo known in naval warfare was a product of the ingenuity of David Bushnell of Saybrook; it was called the "American turtle." It was successful in creating consternation and several deaths on the deck of the British *Cerberus*, and the flagship of Lord Howe, the *Eagle*, barely escaped destruction from one of these dangerous *turtles*, near New York.

On May 22, 1781, Washington, Rochambeau, Knox, Duportail, and Chastellux were holding a military conference at the Webb House in Wethersfield, at which plans were made which led to the surrender at Yorktown of the army of Cornwallis. Negotiations for surrender began on October 17, the fourth anniversary of the surrender of Burgoyne; on October 19, 1781, General Lincoln received the sword of Lord Cornwallis, and the war was over. There are various estimates of the number of men furnished by Connecticut for the war, but it could not have fallen much short of forty thousand. In his general orders of June 16, 1782, Washington mentioned two states as specially worthy of praise, one of them being Connecticut, of which he said that its troop was "composed of as fine a body of men as were in the army." In May, 1776, Connecticut was formally released from allegiance to the crown; and in October, the General Assembly passed an act assuming the functions of a state. In the first section of the act it was enacted,

> That the ancient form of civil government, contained in the charter from Charles the Second, King of England, and adopted

"Hospitality Hall," Wethersfield. The Webb House where Washington and Rochambeau were entertained at their first meeting in 1781

From the Connecticut River Wethersfield is a view of delight; her Christopher Wren spire nestles among the trees, and the white stones of the old burying-ground, like a flock of sheep on the hillside, appear quite English and pastoral

by the people of this State, under the sole authority of the people thereof, [be] independent of any King or Prince whatever. And that this Republic is, and shall forever be and remain, a free, sovereign, and independent State, by the name of the State of Connecticut.

This act implies that the people had always believed that their charter derived its validity, not from the will of the crown, but from the consent of the people. The insistence on state sovereignty was modified later. The changes wrought by the Revolution are suggested by the fact that after the October session of the General Assembly of 1775, its acts were no longer styled "Acts of His Majesty's English Colony of Connecticut."

We find a place in this chapter to speak of the Loyalists or Tories,—*Grumbletonians*, as they were sometimes called in those strenuous times. It is not strange there should have been conservative men, who naturally shrank from the confusion and threatening anarchy attending the insurgents in the experiment of self-government, and laid excessive stress upon the fact that America belonged to England. It would perhaps be too strong a statement to say with the bitter critic, Samuel Peters, that the "multitude considered the General Assembly to be equal to the British Parliament," but the experience of nearly a century and a half of self-government as an independent republic had fostered a condition, which President Dwight in his *Travels* describes thus: "In no state of the world was an individual of more importance as a man than in Connecticut. Such a degree of freedom was never before united with such a degree of stability." In the upheaval which tried men's souls to the utmost, it would be remarkable if good judgment and self-control should prevail in every case, for the seventy-two townships were little republics with three thousand town officials, who had taken oath to do their duty conformably with the constitution and laws. A sharp watch

was kept over every one; as early as 1702, an act was passed which ordered town clerks to keep a list of all the freemen in the town, at every meeting to call the roll, and absentees were to pay a fine of two shillings. In this situation and with such training, it is not strange that in moments of excitement some people went to extremes, as in Windham, when two men, known as *Peter's Spies*, who had been arrested for carrying treacherous correspondence, were forced to run the gauntlet between two rows of women and children armed with switches and broomsticks. In Simsbury, a Tory was shot for being beyond his premises after being warned, and in Hartford another was shot after a similar warning. It is not known what proportion of the people in the colonies were Tories; John Adams put the proportion at about one-third, and another estimate is that of the twenty-five thousand males between sixteen and fifty in Connecticut in 1774, about two thousand were in the class of Loyalists. Connecticut had a larger share than the other New England colonies, and they were mostly in Fairfield County. Considering that the twenty Episcopal ministers in the colony received an annual stipend from the English Missionary Society, it is not strange that some of them should have thought that the policy of the colonies was unwise if not unjust, and destined to defeat, as well as do injury to their churches. Some of them called it an unnatural rebellion, and when the patriotic spirit ran high in 1774, the Sons of Liberty organized, Tories were treated as social outlaws, and some towns passed resolutions of *grief and detestation*. It soon appeared that more radical measures must be taken, and in all parts of the state committees of inspection were appointed, consisting of from fifteen to thirty men in each town—vigilance committees, to search into the actions and disposition of every one in the community. On finding a Loyalist they forbade him to leave his farm, and published in one or more of the four newspapers of the colony his name on the first page

under the heading: "PERSONS HELD UP TO VIEW AS ENEMIES OF THEIR COUNTRY."

In 1775, Congress advised the arrest of every one who might endanger the safety of the colony, or the liberty of America. Washington felt strongly on the subject, and said to Governor Trumbull, "Seize the Tories that are active; they are preying on the vitals of the country, and will do all the mischief in their power." In December, 1775, the General Assembly passed an act which ordered that all who actively aided the enemy with supplies or information should forfeit their estate and be imprisoned for a term, not to exceed three years; that those who defamed Congress or the Assembly should be disfranchised, keep no arms, and if thought wise, be imprisoned or fined; and that those reported "inimical" were to be disarmed.

Early in 1776, Congress urged the "most speedy and effectual measures to frustrate the mischievous machinations, and restrain the wicked practices of these men," and the governor and council took action accordingly; a few months after the Declaration of Independence, the General Assembly ordered that any Loyalist who should aid the enemy should be sentenced to death for treason, and that any one who should have knowledge of such action and should conceal the fact, should be fined, and imprisoned not more than three years. Informers multiplied, especially in the shore-towns, and the Assembly ordered that no one leave the state in a boat without a written license from a selectman. In 1777, an act passed the Assembly to forbid any one passing from town to town (except well-known friendly people and military men) without a written permit signed by some authority of town or army. At the same session, an act passed the Assembly enjoining an "Oath of Fidelity," and whoever neglected to take this could not hold any office or transfer real estate. Tory prisoners were in nearly every jail, and at Newgate prison, among the thirty or forty Loyalist prisoners there were Governor Franklin of New Jersey, Mayor Mat-

thews of New York and Dr. Benjamin Church of Watertown, Mass., for the story of Connecticut vigilance went abroad. In the summer of 1777, Tories began to repent in large numbers, as a result of an act of the Assembly, proclaiming pardon to all who were convinced of their error and were ready to return to duty, and before the close of the war, hundreds took the freeman's oath, and received their estates back again. In 1779, the Assembly passed another liberal act, inviting "absconding Tories to return." The action of Connecticut, while firm and positive toward men who were not in sympathy with the insurgents, was not revengeful, and both Assembly and towns were ready to pardon the penitent. The part taken by the state from the wise, prompt, and large-minded governor to the private in the ranks and the faithful women on the farms was patriotic and effective.

CHAPTER XXI

CONNECTICUT AND THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

SO much has been claimed for the influence of this state at the convention which shaped the Federal Constitution, and the part taken there by three of her ablest men expressed so effectively some of the mature fruits of her history from the beginning, that no apology is needed for this chapter. The government by Confederation proved a failure. Not until March, 1781, were the Articles of Confederation finally ratified by the insurgent states, and in their working they had three fatal weaknesses: no power to tax, no control of commerce, and no power to arrest and punish criminals. In the words of Jay, "They might declare everything, and do nothing." At first, in stress of war, ability and interest marked Congress, but representation was bad; each state could send from two to seven delegates, but there was no thought of population; Virginia with her seven hundred thousand inhabitants could command no more votes than Rhode Island with one-tenth as many. Then, too, attendance fell off rapidly after the war; there were seldom more than twenty-five present at a time; Washington's resignation was received by twenty members from seven states: twenty-three voted on the treaty. Quarrels and litigations over boundaries, jealousy, emphasis on state rights, heavy debts, debased currency, and prostrate commerce created a serious situation, and the decision to hold a

convention at Philadelphia on May 14, 1787, was welcomed by thoughtful men as offering a possible escape from the difficulties, and likely to open an avenue into prosperity.

We have no record of any controversy as to the men who should represent Connecticut on that momentous occasion; there were three lawyers in the state, whose ability, experience, and good judgment placed them among the controlling forces of a convention that was presided over by Washington, and had in its membership Franklin, Hamilton, and Madison. The oldest of these three was Roger Sherman of New Haven, who was a member of the Continental Congress from the beginning, and was one of the committee which drafted the Declaration of Independence and the Articles of Confederation. He was a shoemaker by trade, and losing his father at twenty, he supported his mother and several younger children, educated himself, and became a solid student in history, mathematics, science, and law. In 1745, he had become surveyor of the county, and was an owner of real estate. In 1754, he was admitted to the bar, and began the practice of law. At the age of thirty-eight he was made judge, and two years later, he moved from New Milford to New Haven. Sherman was deeply interested from an early age in the political situation, and as member of the legislature, he was in training for larger responsibilities. He was exceeded in age in the convention only by Franklin; he had not the slightest trace of eloquence, except that of rugged intelligence, wide knowledge, and solid common sense.

Another of the Connecticut delegation was Oliver Ellsworth of Windsor, well-trained, substantial, profound and experienced, he added calm wisdom to the convention, and afterwards was chosen to be chief justice of the state and of the United States. The third delegate was William Samuel Johnson, who was born in Stratford, educated at Yale, became judge of the Superior Court, and was member of Congress from 1784–87. He was eminent as scholar and lawyer, and

Roger Sherman (1721–1793)

Judge of Superior Court, Senator, Mayor of New Haven. He was the only signer in the thirteen colonies of the four fundamental documents of the government: Articles of Association in 1774, Declaration of Independence in 1776, Articles of Confederation in 1777 and Federal Constitution in 1787.

was one of the few Americans whose learning had gained recognition abroad, for Oxford made him doctor of Civil Laws, and the Royal Society had called him to its membership. These three men went to the convention representing different shades of opinion, but in perfect harmony with one another in their desire to give expression to the system of government, which had been carefully wrought out in Connecticut, whose governor and council, because of the singular liberality of the charter, were chosen by majority vote and by almost universal suffrage. Connecticut had also been careful to maintain the substantial equality of the new towns in at least one branch of the legislature; her delegates were consequently in sympathy with the idea of the equality of the states in one branch of Congress. The combination of commonwealth and town rights had worked together so harmoniously in Connecticut that her representatives in the convention were prepared to suggest a similar combination of national and state rights as the foundation of the new government. For a century and a half, the judicious mixture of national and federal elements, which are now united in the National Government, were tried out in a rudimentary way in the little commonwealth of Connecticut, whose delegates went to the convention rich with the fruitage of the statesmanship of Ludlow, Hooker, and Haynes.

Three views concerning the states prevailed in the convention: the first, that they were sovereign and independent, and should be allowed to resume at any time the complete control of their interests. This view was widely held, and it was generally felt that the union under the Articles of Confederation was secured by a yielding of something to the general government, whereas the states were never sovereign, and as colonies had been united through the crown. The second view was: that the events of the past twelve years had practically established a nation; this was the high Federalist view set forth by Jay, Webster, Story, and Curtis.

The third view lay between the other two, and was well expressed by Elbridge Gerry, who said: "We are neither the same nation, nor different nations." This middle view held that the states were free political agents, and also were in such relations with one another that they must form a union of a national character.

Two plans came to the front early in the convention—the Virginia Plan, presented by Randolph of Virginia, who outlined a National Constitution for the United States of America; the chief author of this plan was Madison. It struck at the root of the weakness of the Articles of Confederation, and proposed a strong and self-sufficient government by establishing two branches of the national legislature. The first was to be elected by the people, and its membership to be apportioned to each state according to its quota of contribution, or to the number of free inhabitants; the second was to be elected by the first. Each branch was to have the right of originating acts, and to the national legislature were delegated the rights vested in Congress by the Articles of Confederation. It was to legislate on all cases to which the separate states were incompetent, or in which the harmony of the United States might be disturbed by individual legislation. It was to have power to negative all laws passed by the several states contravening the Articles of Union, and to call out the national army against any state failing to fulfil its duties. A national executive was to be elected by the legislature, to be ineligible for a second term. There was to be a council of revision, consisting of members of the national judiciary, to have a veto over any act of the national legislature. The legislative, executive, and judiciary powers of the state were required to take oath to support the articles of the Union. These resolutions were at once considered in the committee of the whole, where the general idea of a strong and self-sufficient government was adopted by a narrow majority.

On June 4, a question came up which nearly wrecked the

convention. This was the question as to how the states should be represented in the new Congress. On the Virginia Plan, the smaller states would be practically powerless. Then Patterson of New Jersey presented a series of resolutions unfolding the Jersey Plan, providing for the establishment of a federal, instead of a national government, continuing the Articles of Confederation, with the power of coercing insubordinate states. This was a scheme to insure the safety of the small states against the large ones. This plan favored only one branch of the national legislature, whose power was to be derived from the states. Instead of one executive head it favored more than one. This became known as the State Sovereignty Plan. The discussion became heated; the situation dangerous. "The convention," Martin said, "was on the verge of dissolution, scarce held together by the strength of a hair." William Patterson of New Jersey argued the case of the small states with decided skill, insisting that if proportional representation prevailed, the small states would practically have no representation. On Monday, June 11, Roger Sherman proposed a compromise, suggesting that there should be proportional representation in the first branch, and that in the second branch every state should have one vote. This proposal embodied the famous Connecticut compromise, but it attracted little attention at first, as the delegates from the large states were still intent on proportional representation in both houses. On June 11, it was voted that the representation in the first branch should be in proportion to the number of the free inhabitants, plus "three-fifths of all other persons." Sherman immediately attempted to introduce the Connecticut compromise by moving that every state should have one vote in the second branch. This was promptly defeated by the large states. On June 14, Patterson proposed the New Jersey plan of a loose confederation, instead of a strong national government proposed by Randolph. Patterson's plan was based on the states, as Randolph's was based on

the people. After a discussion of four days, the New Jersey plan was rejected, and eight days later, the question of equal or proportionate representation was reopened, and was discussed until June 29, when Johnson of Connecticut urged that "in one branch the people ought to be represented, in the other the states." This compromise again fell on unfriendly ears, and when the vote was taken, the small states found themselves in a minority of four to six.

At this point Ellsworth advanced the plan of the compromise, moving that "the rule of suffrage in the second branch be the same as that established by the Articles of Confederation," which would imply equal representation of the states in the second branch. Ellsworth made a strong plea for compromise, urging that both the large and small states should listen, as Connecticut "held a middle rank." But the time was not yet ripe, and an angry debate continued for three days. Franklin urged the compromise, using the famous illustration, "When a broad table is to be made, and the edges of the planks do not fit, the artist takes a little from both that he may make a good joint." The fever of debate rose, and Ellsworth's compromise was lost by a tie vote, the larger states voting solidly against it. It was the most critical hour of the convention. "No compromise for us," said Luther Martin of Maryland, "you must give each state an equal suffrage, or our business is at an end." "Then we are come to a full stop," said Roger Sherman. "I suppose it was never meant that we should break up without doing something." Then Pinckney moved that a committee from each state be appointed "to devise and report some compromise," and the convention adjourned from July 2 to 5. On the morning of July 5, Gerry made a compromise report, that was favorable to the smaller states; providing that there should be one representative to every forty thousand inhabitants, and that every state should have at least one representative, regardless of population. It was also provided that money bills should originate

in the lower branch—a concession to the larger states. The report also recommended that in the second branch each state should have "an equal vote." In the discussion that followed for eleven days, the larger states opposed the report; Ellsworth, who had been the Connecticut member of the committee, spoke for it; Gerry and Mason thought it better than anarchy. Then Pinckney of South Carolina moved a number according to population for the senate, but Sherman was firm for an equality, and after long and hot discussion Pinckney's motion was lost by a vote of six to four. On Monday, July 16, it was voted that there be an equality of representation in the second branch. It appears from this rapid review that the "Connecticut Compromise," introduced and wisely and steadily supported by Sherman, Ellsworth, and Johnson, was indispensable to the success of the convention.

In a speech in the Senate, February 12, 1847, John C. Calhoun described the struggle between the two opposing forces in the convention: one seeking a national government; the other a confederacy of states: after speaking of the great services of Madison, he said:

> It is owing mainly to the states of Connecticut and New Jersey that we have a *Federal* instead of a *National* government—the best government, instead of the worst and most intolerable on earth. Who are the men of these states to whom we are indebted for this admirable government? I will name them—their names ought to be engraven on brass and live forever. They were Chief Justice Ellsworth, Roger Sherman, and Judge Patterson of New Jersey. To the coolness and sagacity of these three men, aided by a few others, not so prominent, we owe the present constitution.

The Connecticut proposal went to a committee of detail, July 26, and the constitution of the Senate, which was reported, was finally adopted; the system of complete local liberty, with a limited central power, which had proved

so successful on the Connecticut River, passed into the government of the whole country, and has proved far more efficient in securing prosperity than the framers of the Constitution dreamed. There was some difference of opinion as to the method of choice of executive in case the Electoral College failed to elect, but Sherman came to the rescue and proposed a compromise whereby the election was assigned to the House of Representatives, with the provision that each state should have but one vote. Sherman and Johnson signed it; the unavoidable departure of Ellsworth before the adjournment of the convention is the reason why his name is not found on the document.

The state convention, called to ratify the Federal Constitution, met in Hartford, January 4, 1788. The delegates were addressed by Oliver Ellsworth, Governor Huntington, Richard Law, and Oliver Wolcott, and on January 9, the constitution was ratified by a vote of one hundred and twenty-eight to forty. Ellsworth and Johnson were chosen to the Senate of the United States, and Connecticut was merged in the larger government. It is interesting to consider what further advantage the insight of Sherman might have been to the country, if a suggestion of his during the discussion on the executive had been followed. He said that the magistracy was

> nothing more than an institution for carrying the will of the legislature into effect; that the person or persons ought to be appointed by and accountable to the legislature only, which was the depository of the supreme will of society. As they were the best judges of the business which ought to be done by the executive department . . . he wished the number might not be fixed, but that the legislature should be at liberty to appoint one or more, as experience might dictate.

This would have made our executive a body of men similar to the English Ministry, and might have furnished us with a government simpler, less exposed than now to

Samuel Huntington

William Samuel Johnson, LL.D., Third President of Columbia College 1787 to 1800

From an Engraving

periodic and often exciting and depressing shocks of violent campaigns.

Though the Constitution was a product of compromises, and required several amendments to perfect it, especially in the declaration of rights; and though it contained one defect which was washed out by the blood of half a million men, it saved the country from anarchy, and probably from the establishment of several petty governments. It also opened a door into an unrivalled freedom and prosperity.

The question just how decided was the influence of the Fundamental Orders of 1639, and the government of Connecticut upon the United States Constitution is difficult to answer. There is no doubt about the influence of the Connecticut delegates in the convention, but the principles which entered into the Constitution were the ripe fruit of many centuries of growth, brought to maturity by constructive Anglo-Saxon minds. There were accomplished scholars in the convention, who were familiar with all that had been said and done in forming and advancing republican institutions in the days of the Hebrews, the Greek cities, the Swiss commonwealths, the history of England, and in the experiences in the different colonies. The preamble, which Lieber calls "the most magnificent words I know in all history," has a marked similarity to the Massachusetts constitution of 1780. Gorham was a member of the committee which drafted that constitution, and he was also a member of the committee of detail, to prepare a draft of the Federal Constitution. The title United States of America may have been suggested by the name of the United States of the Netherlands, or possibly by R. H. Lee's famous motion of June 7, 1776, "That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states." The origin of the method of having two houses of Congress is suggested by the legislatures of various states, and the first system of the kind is found in Massachusetts, where it was fully developed in 1644, though the English parliament

had been divided into two houses for four hundred years, at the time that the American Constitution was formed. Admitting all this it may still be said that the implicit influence of the Connecticut Constitution of 1639, and the weight of the Connecticut delegates, Sherman, Ellsworth, and Johnson because of their ability and experience gave Connecticut a decided trend to the convention.

CHAPTER XXII

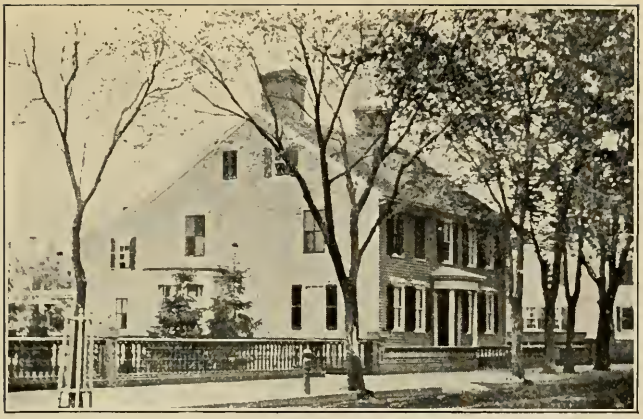
CONDITIONS AT THE CLOSE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

THAT we may keep clearly in mind the development of the commonwealth, it seems best, at risk of repetition, to take a general view of Connecticut as she entered statehood. When the war ended, while the financial situation was dark, commerce paralyzed, trade at the mercy of rivals with their heavy imposts, fisheries annihilated, some of the foreign markets closed, many of the merchants bankrupt, and the moral and religious life at low ebb, there was soon felt the throb of a vigorous and inventive energy, which soon seized the industries, the farms, the musical, and artistic taste of the people. For several years there was much anxiety lest the National Government should be unsteady, and the widespread feeling of insecurity was a poor tonic to capitalists. A sign of the morbid timidity of the time appears in the worry over the Order of Cincinnati, an innocent society of the veterans of the war, organized by General Knox to secure some inextravagant benefits for the old soldiers. The extreme democratic feeling in Connecticut was suspicious of this order, which was about as dangerous as the Grand Army of the Republic. It was imagined by some that the officers of the Revolution were grafters and harpies, who were attempting to obtain riches, which would impoverish their fellow-citizens, and Congress was thought to be corrupt for aiding them. These sentiments were

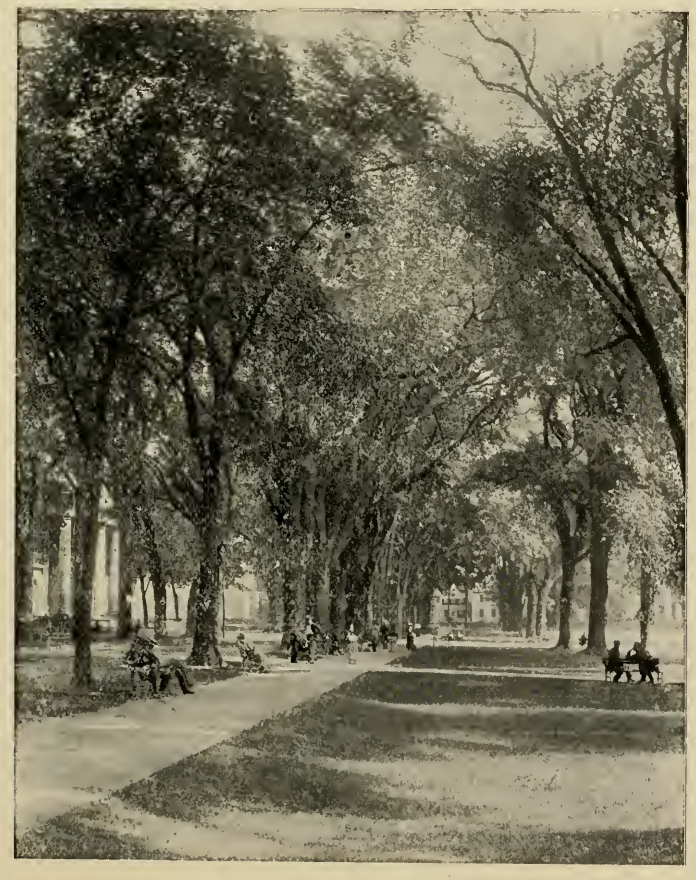
expressed in a convention in Middletown, and concurred in by the General Assembly at its October session of 1783. Connecticut did not object to taxation, but she was unwilling to be taxed to advance the Order of Cincinnati. There was danger for a time of sedition among the uninformed, but soon the common sense of the more intelligent minority prevailed to support the measures of Congress, and tranquillity was restored.

There was a contest over the western lands belonging to the state, the strip extending to the Pacific, according to the charter of Charles II. A section of this, situated in the valley of the Susquehanna, and called Westmoreland, had been surveyed and scantily settled, as we have seen, and in the absence of most of the men, who were in the army, was the object of a brutal attack and massacre at the hands of English and Indians. Two weeks after the surrender of Cornwallis, Pennsylvania petitioned Congress to arbitrate upon her claims on that territory. The escape from the dilemma was through a reference of the question to a board of commissioners from New England, New Jersey, and Virginia. After sessions continuing for forty-one judicial days, the following verdict was reached on December 13, 1782: "We are unanimously of the opinion that the jurisdiction and pre-emption of all territory lying within the charter of Pennsylvania, and now claimed by the state of Connecticut, do of right belong to the state of Pennsylvania." Though the request of Connecticut for time to secure testimony from England was denied, and the decision was considered unjust in the state, it was promptly acquiesced in, and a land grant was made in place of the section taken away, and that part of Ohio called the Western Reserve of Connecticut, which exceeded in area the original domain on the river, came into the possession of the state.

After the Revolution, various industries sprang into a flourishing life. The tin business, referred to in an earlier chapter, beginning in Berlin, was resumed after the war by



The Old Home of Roger Sherman, "The Signer" and first Mayor of New Haven. The House was built by him in 1789 and stands on Chapel Street near High, remodelled into Stores



Temple Street, New Haven

some young men who learned the trade from the Pattisons, and with the improvement in highways, wagons multiplied, and the peddlers gradually added other goods, such as pins, needles, shoes, and hats; going through New England, and out into the western and southern states. Starting in the spring, they traveled through summer and autumn, arranging to have supplies ready for them at certain centers, and returning to New York, at the close of the season, they sold horses and wagon, and took the boat for home, well repaid for their shrewdness and enterprise, and, if reports are true, for their sharp bargains. Timothy Dwight says of them in his *Travels*, "No course of life tends more rapidly to eradicate every moral feeling." There was an industry resembling the tin peddler business established in 1793, by Thomas Bugbee, Jr.,—pottery works, which manufactured pots, jars, mugs, milk-pans, ink-stands, and a hundred other articles, which were sold all over Windham County from pottery carts. The advertisements in the papers of the day suggest the life of the people; the Windham *Herald* announces that John Burgess offered for sale "excellent good leather," also a new-fashioned four-wheeled vehicle called a wagon, an impracticable invention in the judgment of many. There were opportunities to buy brown, white, and striped tow-cloth of home manufacture, also blue, white, and striped mittens, stockings of all textures and colors, shoe-thread, cheeses, butter, geese-feathers, rags, brass, copper, rabbit skins and other furs. Dealers were profuse and urgent in offering their wares, and in the list we find "good sweet rum" at five and six-pence a gallon, and the best Jamaica rum at one dollar and sixpence a gallon. Patent medicines also were coming into use, and "Lee's Windham Bilious Pills" had so great a reputation that some of the lawyers at the courts declared that it would ward off disease to carry a box of these pills in the pocket.

The physician was an important member of the com-

munity, but his education was brief and meager, as germs had not been dreamed of, and the delirious labyrinth of the nervous system was still an undiscovered country, since it was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that the first work on the nervous system was published. There was a good deal of doctoring done, for which the physician was not responsible; large quantities of loathsome drugs and decoctions were swallowed by sick and well. The spring dosing was regarded as essential to health, and sulphur, senna, rhubarb, with or without molasses, were forced down young and old to clean out, tone up, and regulate the stomach, kidneys, and liver. Feverish patients were denied or stinted in the use of cooling drinks, bleeding was a favorite panacea for many an ill, and mercury a popular drug.

The costumes of this period differed slightly from those of an earlier time; ladies wore high-heeled shoes, silk or satin bonnets, and brocaded dresses with tight sleeves. Hoops were again in use, and a woman who was "so poor that she had n't a bead to her neck" was indeed to be pitied. The close economy that had prevailed when Mistress Nott of Ashford clipped the half-grown fleece from the back of a sheep, and made a suit of clothes for a son in a single week, was giving way to more stylish garments. There were fewer quaint old figures than formerly, that could be identified as far as seen by the old cocked hat and the many caped great coat, worn a lifetime. Wages were low; a faithful hired man carried on General Cleaveland's farm for seventy pounds a year; three shillings a day in produce was paid a farm laborer; a working woman would toil through a week for two and sixpence, while a poor man would walk miles with his boy, and dig potatoes for one bushel in ten. Ten dollars a month was the salary of the schoolmaster, with "boarding around," and five shillings a week was the pittance of the schoolma'am. Wanderers were seen going from place to place,—some of them Indians, grim, gaunt, and taciturn, extorting food and cider. Amusements were still primitive,

A Yankee Tin Peddler

The Wethersfield Elm, Twenty-six and a Half Feet in Girth. The Largest Elm East Of The Rockies

and inclined toward coarseness. Dancing was much enjoyed, and reels, jigs, and hornpipes were more popular than the stately minuet. Card parties, shooting matches, and tavern dinners, with plenty of rum, gin, and tobacco were in fashion. Everybody drank, ministers no less than others, in those gay and frolicsome days following the heavy strain of the war. If a minister made several calls in an afternoon, he enjoyed such a mixture of drinks that it was not easy always for him to walk the straight and narrow path on his journey home.

There was no post-office in Norwich before the Revolution, and the New London office was the station for letter delivery for the region. Papers and bundles were carried from house to house by post-riders, and letters requiring payment often lay weeks before they were claimed. The government established a post-office in Norwich in 1782, with mails twice a week by three stage routes—Hartford by Windham, New Haven by New London, and Boston by Providence. It was expensive to send letters, and the amount of postage depended on the distance; there were distances over which a letter could be sent for fifty cents. Libraries were starting here and there; in 1738, Lyme and Guilford had a library association, and in the following year, the Union Library Association was formed by Woodstock, Pomfret, and Killingley, but on account of poor roads, the library was divided between the towns, and later, the Pomfret and Mortlake library became a highly cherished institution. The art of printing was introduced into Connecticut in 1709, by Thomas Short of New London, who published the Saybrook Platform in 1710. The printing press made possible the coming of journalism; the pioneer paper being the *Connecticut Gazette* of New Haven; a four-page, two-column weekly sheet, with a subscription price of ten shillings a year. The first date of this paper was January 1, 1755. Three years later, the *New London Summary* was started. The first number of the *Connecticut*

Courant appeared October 28, 1764. This is the oldest newspaper in the United States with a continuous name and publication; there are only two others that antedate it even nominally.

As the stress of war passed, the hunger of the people for knowledge and the news sought gratification. Noah Webster wrote in 1790, "I am acquainted with parishes where almost every householder has read the works of Addison, Sherlock, Atterbury, Watts, Young and other familiar writings; and will converse handsomely on the subjects of which they treat." He also says, "By means of the general circulation of the public papers the people are informed of all political affairs, and their representatives are often prepared to debate upon propositions made by the legislature." By 1785, there was in Connecticut a newspaper circulation of over eight thousand weekly copies. These papers lacked locals and leaders, and gave many letters and much foreign news, though often three months old, and proceedings of Congress ten days after the occurrence. In 1786, the *Connecticut Courant* apologized for the meager reports of the legislature, and promised to give full details. This reporting was a new thing, and it was five years before it became general among the six papers published in the state.

The improving of the roads made possible the circulation of the newspapers, and the era developing turnpikes and stage-lines was on. Wagons had run between the cities long before the Revolution, but the stage-coach waited until after the war. In 1790, Litchfield had a fortnightly conveyance to New York and a weekly one to Hartford. From 1800, there was a daily stage from Hartford to New Haven, Norwalk, Poughkeepsie, and Albany. Saddle-bags and pillions were giving way to wagons and carriages.

The whaling business was assuming considerable proportions, and New London was the whaling port of Connecticut. Not much was accomplished in the industry in the seventeenth century, though whales appeared in the Sound.

The Connecticut Courant.

MONDAY, October 29, 1764. (Number 00.)

HARTFORD: Printed by THOMAS GREEN, at the Heart and Crown, near the North-Meeting-Houſe.

Hartford, October 29th, 1764.

OF all the Arts which have been introduc'd amongſt Mankind, for the civilizing Human-Nature, and rendering Life agreeable and happy, none appear of greater Advantage than that of Printing: for hereby the greateſt Genius's of all Ages, and Nations, live and ſpeak for the Benefit of future Generations.—

Was it not for the Preſs, we ſhould be left almoſt intirely ignorant of all thoſe noble Sentiments which the Antients were endow'd with.

By this Art, Men are brought acquainted with each other, though never ſo remote, as to Age or Situation; it lays open to View, the Manners, Genius and Policy of all Nations and Countries and faithfully tranſmits them to Poſterity.—But not to inſiſt upon the Uſefulneſs of this Art in general, which muſt be obvious to every One, whoſe Thoughts are the leaſt extenſive.

The Benefit of a Weekly Paper, muſt in particular have its Advantages, as it is the Channel which conveys the History of the preſent Times to every Part of the World.

The Articles of News from the different Papers (which we ſhall receive every Saturday, from the neighbouring Provinces) that ſhall appear to us, to be moſt authentic and intereſting ſhall always be carefully inſerted; and great Care will be taken to collect from Time to Time all domeſtic Occurrences, that are worthy the Notice of the Publick; for which, we ſhall always be obliged to any of our Correſpondents, within whoſe Knowledge they may happen.

The CONNECTICUT COURANT, (a Specimen of which, the Publick are now preſented with) will, on due Encouragement be continued every Monday, beginning on Monday, the 19th of November, next: Which Encouragement we hope to deſerve, by a conſtant Endeavour to render this Paper uſeful, and entertaining, not only as a Channel for News, but aſſiſting to all Thoſe who may have Occaſion to make uſe of it as an Advertiſer.

☞Subſcriptions for this Paper, will be taken in at the Printing-Office, near the North-Meeting-Houſe, in Hartford.

BOSTON, October 1.

IT is now out of faſhion to put on mourning at the funeral of the neareſt relation, which will make a ſaving to this town of twenty thouſand ſterling per annum.—It is ſurprizing how ſuddenly, as well as how generally an old cuſtom is aboliſhed, it ſhows however, the good ſenſe of the town, for it is certainly prudent to retrench our extravagant expences, while we have ſomething left to ſubſiſt ourſelves, rather than be driven to it by fatal neceſſity.

We hear that the laudable practice of frugality is now introducing itſelf in all the neighbouring towns, (and it were to be wiſhed it might thro'out the government) an inſtance of which we have from Charleſtowo, at a funeral there the beginning of laſt week, which the relatives and others attended, without any other mourning than which is preſcribed in a reſcent agreement.

October 8. There ſeems to be a diſpoſition in many of the inhabitants of this and the neighbouring governments to cloath themſelves with their own manufacture.—At Hampſtead, on Long Iſland, in the Province of N. York, a company of gentlemen have ſet up a new woolen manufactory, and having given notice to gentlemen ſhopkeepers and others, of apy of the provinces, that by ſending proper patterns of any colour, they may be ſupplied with broad-cloths, equal in fineneſs, colour, and goodneſs, and cheaper than any imported: the proprietors give good encouragement to any perſon who are any way veſted in the woolen manufactory, ſuch as wool combers, weavers, clothiers, ſhearers, dyers, ſpinners, carders, or underſtand any branch of the broad-cloth, blanket, or ſtroud manufactory.——At Jamaica on the ſaid iſland, one Tunis Polpham is erecting a fulling-mill, which will be compleat in about a month, and carry on all the branches of a fuller and dyer of cloth.

The Surveyor-General has appointed Charles Antrobus, Eſq; to be an officer of his majeſty's cuſtoms to ſieze prohibited and uncuſtomed goods in North-America. And,

William Brown, Eſq; to be collector of his majeſty's cuſtoms at Salem and Marblehead.

Yeſterday one of his majeſty's cruizers arrived in King-Road; tis thought to be the Cygnet.

By a letter from Barbados, we have advice, that Gidney Clark, Eſq; of that Iſland, died there on the 27th of Auguſt laſt, greatly lamented.

It is now confidently affirmed by ſome, which however may not be true in fact, that the ſeverity of the new a—t of p——t is to be imputed to letters, repreſentations, NARRATIVES, &c. tranſmitted to the m——y about two years ago by perſons of eminence this ſide the water—And that ſome copies of letters are actually in this town, and others ſoon expected. —To whatever cauſe theſe ſeverities are owing, it behooves the colonies to represent their grievances in the ſtrongeſt point of light, and to unite in ſuch meaſures as *will be effectual* to obtain redreſs.

The northern coloniſts have ſenſe enough, at leaſt the ſenſe of *feeling*; and can tell where the *ſhoe pinches*—The delicate ladies begin to find by experience, that the Shoes made at LYN are *much eaſier* than thoſe of the make of Mr. HOSE of London—What is become of the noted ſhoemaker of *Eſſex?*

It is fear'd by many who wiſh well to *Great Britain*, that the new A—t of P——t will greatly diſtreſs, if not totally ruin ſome of HER OWN manufactures—It is thought that by means of this A—t, leſs of her woolen cloths, to the amount of ſome thouſands ſterling, will be purchas'd in this cold climate the inſuing winter.

We are told that all the Funerals of laſt Week were conducted upon the new Plan of Frugality.

Nothing but FRUGALITY can now ſave the *diſtreſs'd* northern colonies from impending ruin—It ought to be a conſolation to the good people of a certain province, that the greateſt man in it exhibits the moſt *rigid* example of this political as well as moral virtue.

A ſurprizing concatenation of events to one man in one week.

Publiſhed a Sunday—married a Monday—had a Child a Tueſday—ſtole a horſe a Wedneſday—baniſhed a Thurſday —died a Friday—buried a Saturday—all in one Week.

NEW PORT, October 15.

Letters from Jamaica inform us that one of the Men of War on that Station called lately at the Cape, and brought away one of the people that had been carried thither from Turks-Iſland; the Captain on asking the Reaſon of their Behaviour there which was looked on as a Breach of the good Underſtanding between the two Crowns received for Anſwer, *It was done by Orders from the Courts of France and Spain.* A King's Frigate was diſpatched by Admiral Sir William Burnaby to Turks-Iſland and the Cape.

The Squirrel man of war, Capt. Smith, ſailed from this port for Halifax laſt Thurſday.

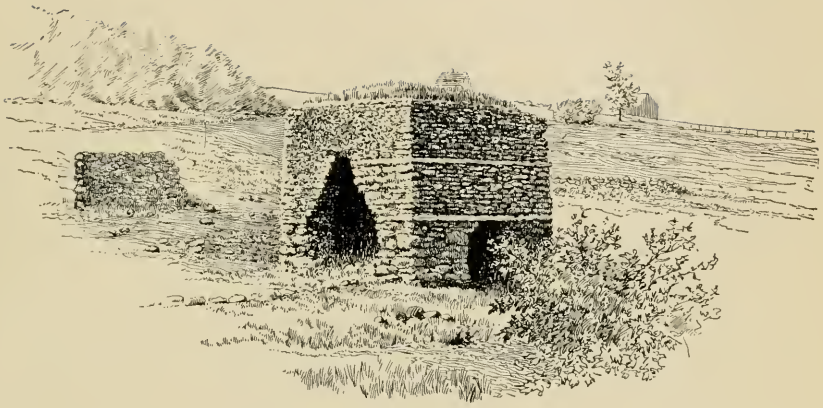
First page of first copy of Connecticut Courant; the oldest newspaper in the United States with continuous name and publication

When one was caught it was killed on shore, and the fat tried out there. The first ship fitted out for whaling from New London was in 1784; but it was the *Commerce*, which cleared February 6, 1794, that had the honor of putting Connecticut into competition with Nantucket. The *Commerce* returned from the south seas after fifteen months, full of oil. From that time until 1840, when the business reached its prime, the number of ships increased, until at length New London had seventy-one ships and barks, one brig, six schooners, and a capital of over two million dollars invested, requiring the services of three thousand men.

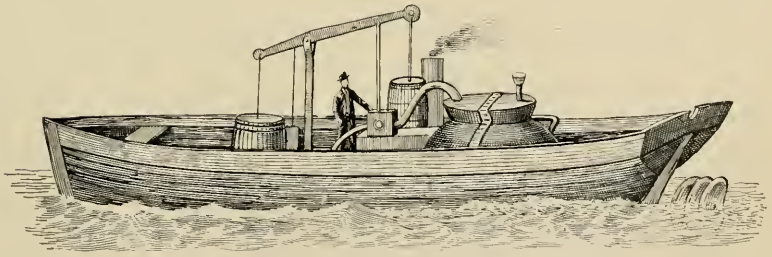
The first man in America to utilize steam as a marine motive power was John Fitch, who was born in East Windsor, in 1743. In 1785, he built a model of his paddle-wheel boat; the following year his craft attained the speed of seven miles an hour. The following year he launched a larger boat on the Delaware. In 1788, a patent was obtained, and in the summer a new steamboat appeared with a tubular boiler, and three paddles at the stern. On the trial trip, a boiler pipe burst; the boat was abandoned, but afterwards repaired and run regularly between Philadelphia and Trenton; her maximum speed was eight miles an hour. At the request of a stockholder of the steamboat company, Fitch visited France to introduce his invention there. As it was at the time of the French Revolution, he received no encouragement, but on returning home, he left his drawings and specifications in the keeping of the man who requested him to visit France, and it is said that the man showed them to Robert Fulton, who was at that time experimenting in France. Fitch was discouraged, moved west, and committed suicide in 1798.

It is not possible to describe this busy era through which the state was passing: the people of Branford were making salt, for which the Assembly paid eighty pounds for five hundred bushels. Abel Buell of Killingworth established a type foundry in New Haven, and coined coppers for the state,

constructing a machine that could produce one hundred and twenty in a minute. At the close of the war he visited England to learn about machinery for the manufacture of cloth, and on his return with a Scotchman, named McIntosh, he erected a cotton factory. During the ten years following 1783, General Humphreys was introducing Spanish merino sheep to provide material for the factories making fine broadcloth, for the statement of Roger Sherman at the constitutional convention in 1787, was coming true, that Connecticut was a manufacturing state. Hitherto manufacturing had been on a small scale, and had been confined mostly to household weaving, fulling mills, forges, and making various articles of iron. There were many hand looms in the homes, and a product of seven hundred yards of cloth was sometimes made by a family in a year, and more nails were hammered out by the men and boys than they could use, but acute minds and busy hands were at work; the iron works at Salisbury were thriving; clocks, watches, shingle-nails, paper, and pottery were among the manufactures started in Norwalk between 1767–73, and in Windham, hosiery, silk, and tacks were manufactured. President Stiles of Yale was interested in the culture of silk, and his commencement gown in 1789, was of Connecticut make. The legislature encouraged silk industries by offering a bounty on the raising of mulberry trees and for raw silk. Half an ounce of mulberry seed was distributed to each parish. The Connecticut Silk Society was incorporated in 1785, with its headquarters at New Haven. Its object was to encourage silk culture and manufacture throughout the state. Mansfield was the center of this business; her inhabitants in 1793, received a bounty on two hundred and sixty-five pounds of raw silk. Mansfield had several inventors: one of them made a buzz-saw for cutting the teeth of horn combs; another a screw auger; while steelyards and spectacles were manufactured there. Eli Terry went from South Windsor to Northbury, then a part of Watertown,



The Ruins of the Forge where the Anchor of the "Constitution" was Cast



The Steamboat of John Fitch (1743–1798)

Redrawn from an Old Print

in 1793, to manufacture clocks. At about the same time, Dr. Apollos Kinsley rode through the streets of Hartford in one of the first steam carriages ever made, a pioneer automobile, of which he was the inventor. In 1798, Eli Whitney, the inventor of the cotton-gin, established a manufactory at Hampden to complete a contract with the government to furnish ten thousand stands of arms. There were starting linen and button factories at New Haven; glass-works, snuff-mills, powder-mills, iron-works, and a duck factory at Hartford; hollow ironware at Stafford in large quantities; tinware in Berlin by some men who had learned the business from the Pattison brothers before the war; buttons in quantities at Waterbury; nails, candles, hats, boots, and shoes through the state. Daniel Hinsdale of Hartford built the "Hartford Woolen Manufactory in 1788, near the foot of Mulberry Street, the first of the kind in the country, for making broadcloth. When in full operation it produced annually over five thousand yards of cloth, consisting of broadcloths, coatings, cassimeres, serges, and everlastings. Washington was much interested in the enterprise and patronized it, and at the first presidential inauguration, he, John Adams, and the Connecticut delegation, were clothed in Connecticut broadcloth. This mill made also the famous *pepper-and-salt* cloth, and in 1794, Samuel Pitkin & Co. began to manufacture at Manchester velvets, corduroys, and fustians. There was an important invention in 1784 by Ebenezer Chittenden, who at New Haven perfected a machine for bending and cutting card teeth. The machine was worked by a mandrel twelve inches in length and one inch in diameter, and was run by a band wheel turned by a crank. It required six independent parts of the machine to make a complete tooth; this was accomplished by one revolution of the wheel. This machine had such a remarkable capacity that it could supply all the manufacturers of New England.

In 1791, the state passed laws for the encouragement of

small factories that the necessities of war had sought, though it was not till after the Hinsdale act of 1837, creating the joint-stock companies, that Connecticut turned from a purely agricultural to the manufacturing state we are so familiar with to-day.

Exports consisted of horses, mules, cattle, salted beef, pork, and fish, lumber, masts, ashes, grain, butter, cheese, and leather. There were five ports of entry, and the value of exports was about a million and a half of dollars annually. All this vigorous and inventive growth was encouraged and strengthened by the democratic government flourishing in the different towns. This account of the activities of Connecticut in many lines gives a suggestion of the many energies of the people as the eighteenth century closed, and of the rich fruitage of philanthropy and industrial growth of the nineteenth century. It also reminds us of the prominent part the state has played in the life of the Republic.

CHAPTER XXIII

FINANCE AND TAXATION

NO other question was more pressing as Connecticut passed into statehood than that of money, for the financial strain had been heavy, the currency was almost worthless, the banks had not started, and on every side were opportunities for which capital was needed. We shall best understand the situation by passing in review rapidly the whole history of finance and taxation from the beginning. In earliest times there was little money, since the settlers brought little, and much of their scanty funds went back to buy supplies. There were ingenious ways of gaining a currency, such as the law, passed in Massachusetts in 1654, providing "that muskett bullets of a full boare shall pass currently for a farthing apiece, provided that noe man be compelled to take above 12 pence att a tyme in them." It was solid money, that could not be counterfeited, and useful for Indian or wolf. Wampum soon came into considerable use, and in 1637, Massachusetts ordered that this product of shells and flint drills should pass at six a penny for any amount under twelvepence; not till 1661, was the wampum legal-tender law repealed, while this currency was in circulation until the Revolution. Corn, including maize, rye, oats, and wheat, pelts of otter, beaver, mink, fox, and bear were exchanged at the stores for cloth, rum, sugar, spices, and molasses. In 1642, Indian corn was made legal tender, and from 1650, the standard of values was established

year by year. In 1652, Massachusetts formed a mint to coin bullion—shillings, sixpences, and threepences, with a pine tree on one side and "New England" on the other. Those pieces were alloyed one-fourth below the British standard, so that the pound currency of New England came to be one-fourth less valuable than the pound sterling of the mother-country. In 1737, John Higley, an ingenious blacksmith of Salisbury, coined copper cents, whose favorite device was a deer with "the value of three pence" on one side, and on the other three hammers, each bearing a crown, and the inscription, "I am a good copper." Connecticut coined more coppers than any other colony and the metal in them was so pure that it was eagerly sought by goldsmiths. Abel Buell made dies for several colonies, and in 1785, the legislature authorized a mint to coin cents.

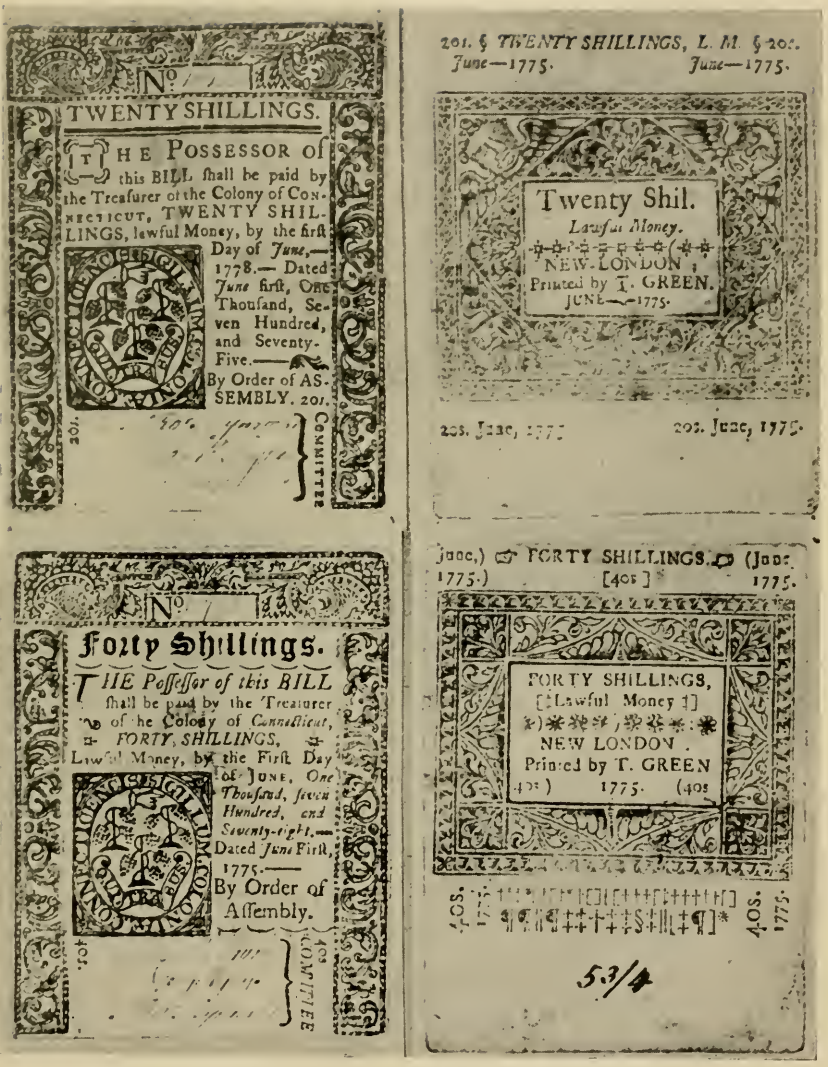
When Madame Knight passed through the colony in 1704, she found four kinds of currency; *pay* was barter at prices decided by annual vote; *money* was wampum or metallic money; *pay as money* was property at rates decided by the parties; *trust* was a price with time given. Money used in larger payments was mainly Spanish pieces, worth about a dollar. Currency varied so much in kind and value, and there were so many opportunities for the unscrupulous, that Yankee wits had a wide field in which to train for later shrewdness. Until 1709, the financial basis was sound—the tax rate rising or lowering as necessity required, but the limit had been reached; taxes were at the ruinous tune of seven or eightpence a pound, and the scarcity of money, heavy public debts, and the costly intended expedition to Canada led the Assembly to order the issue of eight thousand pounds in paper currency, to be received at a premium of five per cent. in payment of taxes. There was no legal-tender clause, and there was a special tax of tenpence in the pound for the payment in two annual parts. Further levies called for the issue of eleven thousand pounds more in the same year, with the provision for a tax to meet it in six

annual payments. From that time, issues followed rapidly, and with them there was an earnest endeavor to provide for their redemption by special taxation. In 1718, the dreaded legal-tender clause came timidly in; debtors tendering bills of credit were not to be imprisoned, and fresh bills of credit appeared with their homely faces. It cost money to send soldiers to Port Royal, Canada, and the frontiers; counterfeiting became common and business demoralized. A company of fifty men in New London organized in 1732, to promote trade and commerce, and their bills were hailed with joy, though they bore no promise to pay, but only an agreement that the society would receive them. Six months later, the legislature abolished the society, and the bills disappeared. In 1733, the colony laid aside all conservatism and issued thirty thousand pounds in paper, dividing the amount into equal loans among the five counties; debt increased, commodities rose in price, as did silver from eight shillings an ounce in 1708, to eighteen in 1732, and thirty-two in 1744. Wages lingered behind the cost of everything the laborer ate or wore, and since the authorities were careless in keeping their accounts, it was impossible to reach a balance.

The best that can be made out of the figures is that up to 1740, one hundred and fifty-six thousand pounds had been issued in paper, and all but about six thousand had been redeemed by taxation, and there was a debt of about forty thousand pounds. In 1739, the Assembly took measures for defense, for England and Spain were at war in the West Indies, and of the thousand men sent by the colony only one hundred returned. A new issue of forty-five thousand pounds was ordered, eight thousand of which was used to redeem earlier issues, known as *old tenor;* twenty-three thousand was to be loaned, and the interest was to create a sinking fund to liquidate the new issue, called *new tenor* Yielding to the pressure of the English Board of Trade and Plantations, the legal-tender clause was abol-

ished. The expedition against Louisburg in 1744, brought heavy expense, which was met by fresh issues of "new tenor," raising the emissions for the war to one hundred and thirty-one thousand pounds on the valuation of the colony of less than a million pounds. Soon these bills depreciated, though one of the new tenor was worth three and a half of the old tenor. In 1751, Parliament forbade the issues of paper currency, except for taxes of the present year, or to be secured by taxes payable in five years; and by buying up the old tenor obligations at eleven per cent. of their face value, enforced taxation, and a grant from Parliament, Connecticut liquidated all the outstanding paper. The experience made the people shy of paper money later on, though in the French and Indian wars just before the Revolution there were large issues of bills of credit, which seem to have been paid at maturity or before, not shilling for shilling, but in a way more or less just.

In the pressing need of money as the Revolution came on, the General Assembly voted in April, 1775, fifty thousand pounds in bills of credit for two years without interest; in May, it issued fifty thousand for three years; in July, fifty thousand more for four and a half years, and three taxes were levied of sevenpence in a pound to meet this. In 1776, bills had depreciated so much that they were refused, and a few patriotic men went forward and gave silver for paper, while Congress passed resolutions stamping those who refused such bills as "lost to virtue and enemies of their country." In March, 1776, commissioners of fifteen towns met in Hartford and passed anxious resolutions on the "late alarming rise of West India goods," adopting a schedule of "reasonable prices." The action was as effective as a child's hand to stop a tornado, and in October, 1776, the legislature made Continental and Connecticut bills legal tender; ordering that if any evil-minded person tried to depreciate such bills, he should forfeit the full value of his money and also the prop-



Continental Currency. Originals in Connecticut State Library

erty offered for sale. In November, 1776, "in this day of public calamity and distress," a law was passed to regulate prices, with pains and penalties attached to the violation of it, and the next month the penalty was increased. No bills for circulation were issued that year, except a few in small denominations to help in making change, and the people were forbidden to buy or sell, except in small quantities, rum, molasses, sugar, tea, coffee, salt, shoes, wool, and much else, unless the dealer was known as a "friend of freedom," under penalty of forfeiture of double the value of the goods. Public feeling against speculators ran high, and Washington paused in his campaigns to brand the infamy of such traitors, saying: "It is much to be lamented that each state has not hunted them down as pests of society; some of the more atrocious ought to be hung on gibbets five times as high as Haman's."

The juvenile political economy went on, but printing-press currency was not welcomed, though legislatures threatened and patriots exhorted. With the opening of 1778, paper money was worth twenty-five cents on a dollar in Philadelphia, and the legislature of Connecticut passed measures to regulate the price of every important article; importers were to count a dollar for every shilling paid in Europe; retailers were to make only twenty-five per cent. profit; whoever violated these laws was to be fined forty shillings, and be disqualified from holding office or prosecuting a suit at law. No one could "maintain any suit until he swore by the everliving God" that he was not guilty of such violation. This was soon repealed but it shows the temper of the time and the scanty knowledge of finance. More sensible was the action of the same session, looking toward taking up bills and canceling them by use of loans, and better still by taxation. It was also enacted that none of the bills of the state, except for sums under a dollar, should be current in trade after March 1, 1779; the state issues were called in and exchanged for the treasurer's promissory notes,

or for bills of the United States, and nothing more was heard of local bills after 1779. Continental money kept losing value, for Congress issued over two hundred millions of dollars in paper money. On January 1, 1779, it stood at seven to one; on May 1, twenty-four to one; and Congress called on the states to pay forty-five million dollars before January 1, 1780, on which date, paper and silver stood at a ratio of forty to one in Philadelphia. Religion and patriotism continued to join forces; Congress sent appeals to be read in the churches; Connecticut repealed the legal-tender law for all kinds of money; speculation was rife; industries checked; some fortunes were made and more lost. After six inglorious years, Continental currency died in 1781; on the first of January of that year, one hundred dollars in Continental money was needed to buy one dollar in silver, and by the end of May paper money ceased to pass at all.

After the Revolution, chaos reigned in business—cursed with truck and barter, with their variable prices. Money was scarce, except the fiat variety, which encouraged gambling. In 1792, the Assembly chartered the Union Bank of New London and the Hartford Bank. Only four preceded these in America. Hezekiah Merrill, cashier of the Hartford Bank, had a salary of five hundred dollars. Banks were soon organized in New Haven, Middletown, and Norwich. Savings banks date from 1819, and the first to form was the Society for Savings of Hartford, with Daniel Wadsworth president, and Elisha Colt treasurer. The bank paid five per cent. interest, and so small were the deposits at first that the treasurer carried the money of the bank in his pocket by day, and at night slept with it under his pillow. In 1820, a savings bank was opened in New Haven, and soon afterwards banks were organized in Norwich, Middletown, and New London. The revision of the laws in 1796, changed currency from pounds and shillings to dollars and cents, and a pound at that time was worth three dollars and thirty-four cents.

The first principles of taxation in Connecticut came from the mother colony of Massachusetts, and the backbone of the colonial system was the direct tax. The first mention of land as the basis was in January 4, 1638, in Connecticut and August 5, 1640, in New Haven, and from that period until 1818, land was rated according to the "profitte and benefitts" thence arising. By the code of 1650, from which date Connecticut may be said to have a system of taxation, all sorts of land were taxed for colony and town expenses. On October 23, 1676, the General Assembly ordered that meadow land be rated from twenty to sixty shillings; house-lots fifteen to fifty-five; tilled land from eight to twenty-five; mowing and pasture from ten to twenty, and all else at a shilling per acre. In 1712, a simpler classification was adopted, and meadow land was appraised according to locality. A tax was gradually levied on all property, such as houses, mills, wharves, and cattle; there was a poll tax after English and Massachusetts fashion; according to the code of 1650, every male upwards of sixteen paid a poll tax of two shillings and sixpence; after 1737, males between sixteen and sixty paid a poll tax equivalent to the tax on an estate of eight pounds, with the exception of ministers, teachers at Yale, persons in favored occupations and those infirm. Trades and incomes were taxed according to a man's earning ability, and there were licenses and taxes on products, imports, and exports, with fines, fees on the sale of lands and lotteries. In 1638, a tax was laid on the beaver trade; in 1645, it was voted to lay a tax of twopence a bushel on corn and meal exported, and twopence a hogshead on beaver. There was a tax of twelvepence on every milch cow or mare, and twelvepence on every hog killed. Previous to 1771, the rates at which trades were decided depended on the judgment of the assessors, but from that time retail dealers paid a tax on ten per cent. of the cost of their stock, and wholesale traders and tavern-keepers according to income. Carriages with tops were rated at five pounds,

and three pounds if without; houses, according to number of stories and fireplaces.

According to the code of 1650, the colonial treasurer sent warrants to constables and selectmen, calling on them to assemble the people and choose three or four men to be listers; one of these should be a commissioner to meet the others at Hartford, correct and equalize the lists, and report to the General Court. In 1666, the power of the commissioners was transferred to the deputies, and in 1692, deputies were relieved by special officers—one for every town. In 1703, the duties of inspectors were merged in those of listers. In 1689, the principle of *will and doom* was adopted, and whoever failed to hand in a list of his property was assessed by the listers; this also applied to towns. In 1703, it was voted that listers should put a fourfold rate upon those neglecting to return a list, and the constable was permitted to resort to methods of "distress" in collecting taxes,—such as seizure of goods and cattle, and even imprisonment. After the constable's term of office expired, he had power to distress delinquents for arrears, and if he died in office, his administrator could force payment; if the constable failed to secure the taxes, his property was levied upon by the treasurer, who in turn was responsible for deficiencies, or the sheriff levied execution on the property of the selectmen. In 1714, it was ordered that when a constable was insolvent, the sheriff was to collect the amount from the selectmen, who were to levy on the town for it. An abatement was made for the poor, and in 1757, it was ordered to discount on taxes paid in advance for the French and Indian war. Ten years later, it was voted to charge interest on taxes overdue.

While open to many defects, the income-tax system which prevailed until 1818, was simple, and free from many of the difficulties of the present laws; the best meadow land came to be assessed at two dollars and a half an acre, ploughed land a dollar and sixty-seven cents, pasture a dollar and thirty-four cents, woods thirty-four cents, and all equalization

was made by the legislature. With the adoption of the Constitution the whole subject of taxation was taken up afresh, and a far more complicated state of things presented itself than before, as the state passed from the agricultural to the industrial condition. In his message in 1819, Governor Oliver Wolcott speaks of the difficulty of maintaining justice under the older system; the inequality of the value of lands in different parts of the state was not sufficiently recognized; over three hundred thousand acres out of the 2,293,083 was not reported at all, and the agricultural family contributed about seventy-seven per cent. above its proportion as compared with families supported by labor and other employments. It was decided to change the whole system and list real estate at three per cent. of its real value and personal property at six per cent. This continued until 1850, when it was voted to list all property on a basis of three per cent., and every kind of property not specially exempted was to be taxed, moreover no tax was to be levied on persons except polls; for the first time taxpayers were required to return lists under oath. It was soon found that people with property that could not be seen were not apt to report it, and such possessions formed only four per cent. of the grand list. Various methods have been tried nearly a century to overcome dishonesty; at one time there was a reward for the assessors if they found concealed property; they were to add fourfold to the appraisal, with one-half of the addition for their own pockets, but this was a failure. In 1860, it was voted that the property of those failing to return a list was to be listed at its "present, full, fair, and just value," and assessors were to add any taxable property omitted. In 1865, the present law was passed, directing assessors to add ten per cent. to a man's taxable property in case he did not fill out a list.

To discover remedies for the inequalities a commission was created in 1843, to investigate the whole subject of taxation in its effect upon property owners, and its report

was not adopted. In 1867, since other evils had arisen in addition to those of the earlier time, another commission was appointed, which advised changes unacceptable to the legislature, and in 1884, a tax commission was created which made a report in January, 1887, submitting several bills, nearly all of which have been adopted with few changes. One of these is the inheritance tax, which was made a law in 1889, levying five per cent. on all property above one thousand dollars to collateral heirs. In 1897, it was voted to exempt ten thousand dollars, and the tax was of one-half of one per cent. to lineals and three per cent. to collaterals. By the statutes of 1913, it is provided that all property passing in trust for any charitable purpose within the state or gifts to institutions for public benefit are exempt from inheritance tax, and that the state shall receive one per cent. of the value of all property in excess of five thousand dollars, passing to parent, husband, wife, child, any other legally adopted child or other lineal descendant of the decedent, up to one hundred thousand dollars; two per cent. on any amount from one hundred thousand to two hundred thousand dollars; three per cent. for any amount above three hundred thousand dollars; one per cent. of the value of all property in excess of three thousand dollars passing to the wife or widow of a son, the husband of a daughter, and to a brother or sister of the full or half blood of the decedent, up to the amount of one hundred thousand dollars; three per cent. of any amount above one hundred thousand dollars; five per cent. of the value of all property in excess of five hundred dollars to all others, or to any society, not exempted as above, up to one hundred thousand dollars, and six per cent. of any amount above that.

The first state tax on express companies was imposed in 1864, and the rate was one per cent. on the gross receipts taken within the state. The following year it was raised to two per cent.; in 1889, the basis was changed to gross re-

ceipts from commerce entirely within the state, and at the same time the rate was raised to five per cent. The first law to tax telephone companies was enacted in 1882, and it taxed the companies two per cent. on their gross receipts collected within the state. In 1889, the system was changed to a tax of seventy cents on the transmitters and twenty-five cents on mileage. The first tax on telegraph companies was passed in 1862—a tax of three-quarters of one per cent. on all property owned by the companies; in 1864, it was changed to a tax of one cent on every message sent from an office in the state, and the next year that was replaced by a tax of two per cent. on the gross receipts within the state. By the statutes of 1913, every express company conducting business on steam or electric railroads or street railways, every company conducting a telegraph, cable, or telephone business, every dining, sleeping, chair, or parlor car company, every refrigerator, oil, stock, fruit, and other car company operating upon the railroads shall pay an annual tax upon the gross earnings of lines, routes, cars, and exchanges operated within the state. The rate of the tax on the gross earnings is as follows: express companies, two per cent.; telegraph, cable, and car companies, three per cent.; telephone companies, four per cent.

The method of taxing railroads is the *stock and bond* plan, the basis being the sum of the market value of the stock and of funded and floating indebtedness. The rate, according to the statutes of 1913, was raised from one per cent. to eleven mills for two years. The law began with the act of 1849, which provided that upon all shares of stock owned by persons outside the state there should be a tax of one-half of one per cent. The tax on banks, trust companies, and stock insurance companies is one per cent. on the market value of all stocks, less taxes paid on real estate, and the proceeds are paid to the towns in which the stockholders live. The mutual insurance companies pay a tax of one-fourth of one per cent. on the gross value of the assets, less the amount

of local taxes on real estate. The first state tax on these companies was levied in 1851; being one-third of one per cent. on the "total cash capital," and the law has passed through many changes to its present form. Savings banks and savings departments of banks and trust companies are taxed one-fourth of one per cent. upon their deposits, after deducting the market value of certain bonds, and a lump sum of fifty thousand dollars for each bank. This law is the culmination of a course of taxation which began in 1851, with a tax of one-eighth of one per cent. on deposits. Building and loan associations are not taxed by the state.

On October 10, 1910, there went into effect the so-called personal tax law, which requires all male persons in the state from twenty-one to sixty years old to pay two dollars a year. This takes the place of the poll and military taxes, and is levied on aliens as well as voters, with the exception of students in colleges and incorporated academies, active members of fire engine, hook and ladder and hose companies during active service; members of any fire department of city, town, or borough, who have served for five consecutive years within the state; officers who have performed military duty during the year preceding, and persons who have served five years in the active militia since July, 1865, or served in army or navy of the United States and were honorably discharged.

The grand list of the state for 1912, was $1,102,990,545. The average assessed valuation of the towns varies from fifty-five to one hundred per cent. of what is considered fair market value, and the rate of taxation in the different towns varies from five mills to twenty-five mills. In thirty-one towns the rate is ten mills or less. In 1901, it was voted to appoint a tax commissioner every four years, to be nominated by the governor and confirmed by the senate. He visits the towns, investigates the conditions of listing, exercises an advisory supervision, helps to secure uniformity in

the local boards, and makes suggestions concerning methods to improve the system of taxation through the state.

The Connecticut system of taxation is decidedly liberal, since there is absolute freedom from constitutional limitations; separation of state and local revenue; different rates of taxation for intangible personal property; exemption of bonds of railroads paying taxes in the state; exemption of real estate mortgages and farm produce actually grown in the season next preceding the time of listing; the avoidance of double taxation so far as possible, and the taxation of all property at its fair market value. The word "tax" does not occur in the constitution, neither are there any constitutional provisions relative to the subject. All the regulations are statutes, and any or all of them may be changed or stricken out by any legislature.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE SECOND WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE

IT was generally supposed in America that after Cornwallis had surrendered and the treaty was signed, there would be no more serious trouble with the mother-country, but it was soon found that this country must wage a second war with England, or cease from self-respect; and the humiliation of the war was that it was delayed so long, and conducted so languidly. For six years, the United States had borne the injurious treatment of England and France, and their claims of the right to search her ships, impress her seamen, harass her commerce and blockade her coasts, until it could be tolerated no longer. Six thousand seamen had been taken from her ships, and the time had come when something must be done to put a stop to foreign insolence and tyranny. The census of 1810, had shown that the population of the United States was a little over seven millions, while the population of the United Kingdom was eighteen and a half millions, but England was at war with Napoleon. Madison's declaration of war on June 19, 1812, found the country unprepared with an adequate army and navy. There was a regular army of less than seven thousand men, without discipline or proper equipment. Amos Kendall thus describes some soldiers he saw in 1814: "About three hundred militia . . . on their way to Erie. They were without order, and apparently without officers—mean, dirty, ugly, and in every respect contemptible. . . . The soldiers are under no more

restraint than a herd of swine." The officers were elderly men, some of them of Revolutionary experience, of whom General Winfield Scott said they were indifferent or positively bad, sunk in sloth and indolence, many of them being ruined by intemperate drinking.

Arms, ammunition, clothing, stores, fortifications, were scanty and poor; so wretched were the roads that it cost sixty dollars to get a barrel of flour from New York to Detroit, and fifty cents to transport every pound of shot, powder, and cannon-balls, for the avenues led through forest trails, through pest-breeding swamps, over rivers swollen by frequent rains, and through regions infested by hostile Indians. Moreover the treasury was almost empty, for, as Randolph declared, the country had been "embargoed and non-intercoursed almost into a consumption." Dearborn, who became senior major-general, had been a deputy quartermaster-general in the Revolution, later a colonel of a New Hampshire regiment, and Secretary of War under Jefferson, and he left the collectorship of the port of Boston at the age of sixty-one to take command of the army. It was the misfortune of General William Hull, a native of Derby, governor of Michigan Territory, to become one of the four brigadier-generals appointed by President Madison, and he was placed in command of the northwestern army. Hull had served in the Revolution thirty years before, and was at the time of his appointment sixty years old. He started from Washington to take command of the troops at Dayton with no clear instructions what to do. The British commander was Major-General Isaac Brock, lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, and a man of remarkable energy, courage, and resources. Though Hull knew that the British were in control of Lake Erie, he sent off his baggage, hospital stores, intrenching tools, and muster-rolls from the Maumee River to Detroit. The capture of this vessel by the British showed the purposes of the Americans, and Brock wrote to Prevost, "I had no idea until a few days ago, that General Hull was

advancing with so large a force," and he marshaled at once his little army.

Hull reached Detroit early in July, and under orders from Washington, crossed the river to attack Malden, issued a proclamation to Canada and then waited until Brock had reinforced his army with Indians, when, overcome with fears, he retreated in weakness and fear to Detroit; Brock followed him, though with a smaller force. In that time of despondency, the colonels of the regiments offered to make Lieutenant-Colonel Miller of the regulars commander in the place of Hull, but he declined. After two days at Detroit, Brock decided to move against the fort, and on August 15, he summoned Hull to surrender, threatening if he refused, to let the Indians loose on the whole territory far and wide to butcher the people. For the moment Hull refused to surrender, but when the British advanced to attack the fort with artillery, infantry, Indians and two vessels, he sent out a white flag and a force of about twenty-five hundred men. The fort and Detroit passed into the hands of a determined general with an army of three hundred and thirty regulars, four hundred militia, and about six hundred Indians. Hull tried to justify his course by claiming that his troops were on short rations, that he could not possibly have held the place until rescue came, and that he preferred to sacrifice his own reputation than expose the territory to the ravages of the Indians. In the scorn and vituperation that have been heaped upon Hull, there has been little consideration of his inefficient superior, Dearborn, the rawness of the American troops, and the military inexperience of this elderly man. A year and a half later he was tried by court-martial on charges of treason, cowardice, and neglect of duty, and sentenced to be shot on the last two charges. The court recommended him to the mercy of the president, who approved the verdict, but remitted the execution of it, on account of the former services of Hull in the Revolution.

Three days after the surrender of Detroit, Isaac Hull, also born in Derby, and a nephew of the unfortunate general, while commanding the *Constitution*, fought the *Guerrière* off Nova Scotia and in half an hour the British ship was lying "a helpless hulk in the trough of heavy sea, rolling the muzzles of her guns under," showing the emptiness of the English taunt at an enemy whose navy was a "few fir-built frigates, manned by a handful of bastards and outlaws." Another Connecticut man who was of decided service in the defense of the states upon the lakes was Captain Isaac Chauncey, who had spent his early life in the merchant service.

By vote of the legislature, a state corps was organized under the command of General Nathanael Terry, and a state militia of fifteen thousand men was equipped to resist invasion. In the spring of 1813, a British fleet passed through the Sound and established a blockade. The militia met at New London, and Decatur was bottled up in the Thames River. In April, 1814, a body of British sailors and marines landed at a point six miles above Saybrook and destroyed some shipping. The citizens of Stonington were in constant alarm, and on August 9, 1814, Sir Thomas Hardy entered the harbor with four warships and several barges and launches; anchoring within two miles of the town he told the people that he proposed to destroy it, giving them one hour to remove the women and children. Horrified yet undaunted, preparations were made to give battle to the enemy, and the bombardment began at eight in the evening. Shells and rockets fell upon the village, and began to set fire to the buildings; the Stonington volunteers took possession of the peninsula; erecting a redoubt, they put in position a six and an eighteen pounder, and began to hurl solid balls, sinking one of the barges, and compelling the retreat of the bomb-ship with her consorts. At sunrise August 10, the bombardment began afresh, and Captain Jeremiah Holmes, a good gunner from Mystic, handled the eighteen-pounder with such

effect that the brig *Dispatch* was forced to cut her cables to avoid sinking. At that juncture the ammunition on shore gave out. Some of the timid citizens advocated surrender, but Captain Holmes shouted "No!" Pointing to the ensign, he said, "That flag shall never come down while I am alive." He nailed it to the staff. Soon a supply of ammunition came from New London, and the British were kept at bay until the arrival of General Isham with a force of militia, relieving the strain. On March 11, 1815, the British fleet left Long Island Sound, having maintained a blockade for over two years.

Prominent among those who brought on the war was Peter B. Porter, who was born in Salisbury, went to Congress from Buffalo, and after hostilities began, resigned his seat to lead a body of Iroquois Indians; later serving with distinction at Chippewa, Lundy's Lane, and Lake Erie. In 1815, he was appointed commander-in-chief of the army but declined. General Porter received a gold medal from Congress and a sword from the New York legislature. There were more than eleven thousand officers and privates from Connecticut who took part in this war.

There was a singular development of the times which must be described, though no one is proud of it now—the Hartford Convention. There was a growing dissatisfaction in New England with Madison's administration, in carrying on the war; some of the governors of New England refused to order out the militia on receipt of the president's proclamation asking for troops; the government declined to pay the soldiers when called out, basing its refusal on the ground that the forces had not been placed under the command of the United States general in charge of that department. This feeling of enmity to the government was strengthened by differences between the people of New England and those of the South, on the question of slave representation in Congress. The administration was largely controlled by Southern influence, and since New England

was the manufacturing center of the country, the embargo of 1707, bore heavily upon her business interests. In laying this embargo, President Jefferson was moved by the highest motives. It was a retaliation directed against the aggressions of France and England. The president recommended, and Congress directed, that there should be an embargo upon all American vessels, and upon all foreign vessels with cargoes shipped from our ports after December 22, 1807. Commerce was to be abandoned, owing to the idea that foreign nations would suffer from loss of American supplies. But the embargo failed, being irritating to the citizens, paralyzing many lines of business, and provoking foreigners to laughter or to severe measures. Napoleon ordered the confiscation of all American vessels in French ports, April 17, 1808; Great Britain prohibited the exportation of American produce December 21, 1808. After the embargo was repealed in 1809, non-intercourse acts followed, with a continuance of business ruin and widespread discontent, especially in New England. Town meetings, state legislatures, and even courts declared against the constitutionality of the embargo measures. The language used by federalists of Massachusetts suggested a dissolution of the Union. Even the Indians on the frontiers added to the strain, because the exclusion of their furs from the continental markets reduced them to poverty, and British interference stirred them to hostility. It was a time of bitterness and want wherever people depended for their living on commerce. Shipwrights were idle; pitch, tar, hemp, flour, bacon, salt fish, and flaxseed became drugs on shippers' hands. One writer said, "The act ought to be called the 'Dambargo'." In some places smuggling was resorted to.

On January 6, 1809, Congress passed the Force Act which made it a high misdemeanor to carry specie or goods out of the United States. It authorized the president to use the army to enforce the act on land, and equip thirty vessels to enforce the law on the coast. When Governor Trumbull was

asked for the use of the militia, he flatly refused to obey. He wrote that he knew of no authority for complying with the order of General Dearborn who had served a notice under the orders of President Jefferson. He promptly assembled the legislature, and told it that when the National Legislature oversteps the bounds prescribed by the Constitution, it becomes the duty of the states to interpose and protect the rights of the people from the assumed powers of Congress. His refusal to afford military aid was severely felt, for it was apparent that if the embargo was to be enforced, it must be with the sword.

In that time of agitation there was much suffering and hardship, because of the immense fines and forfeitures to compel obedience. Heavy bonds were exacted; collectors were opposed almost as resolutely as were those before the Revolution. Some were sued in the state courts, some resigned. The courts could find no case against the smugglers. At last, the New England states openly threatened nullification. With the going out of the Jefferson administration there was a repeal of the embargo; the shipping interests began to quicken; merchandise was hurried forward. Disappointments soon followed, when the negotiations of the British ministers at Washington were repudiated by the British government, and Congress reimposed the embargo in the shape of a "non-interference act." The Federalists of Connecticut had welcomed the renewal of trade with England, and when the sudden reversal came, they accused the government at Washington of insincerity and unwillingness to settle the difficulties between the two nations.

All this dissatisfaction with the Embargo, the method of conducting the war, and jealousy between the North and the South found expression in the so-called Hartford Convention, which assembled in the city hall on December 15, 1814. There were twelve delegates from Massachusetts, seven from Connecticut, three from Rhode Island, two from New Hampshire, and on December 28, Vermont sent a delegate.

A permanent organization was effected, with the choice of George Cabot of Boston as president, and Theodore Dwight of Hartford as secretary. The members were as a rule men of ability, learning, and high standing, and they were in session within closed doors for twenty days. There were wild rumors of treasonable proceedings, and the excitement was increased by the fact that the Massachusetts legislature appropriated a million dollars toward the equipment of ten thousand men to be under the state control. Disturbed by reports, Congress ordered a regiment of soldiers to assemble at Hartford to watch the conclave, but military demonstrations were limited to a squad of idlers marching around the hall, with fifers playing the *Rogue's March*. Later, the convention was considered a treasonable gathering and every man who took part in it became a political outcast. General Jackson said that if he had commanded the military department where the convention met, he would have punished the three principal leaders. The lengthy report contained resolutions, advising the states to exclude slaves from the basis of representation, to prohibit Congress from laying an embargo for more than sixty days, to interdict intercourse with foreign nations without a two-thirds vote of both houses, to require a two-thirds vote to declare war, to make the president eligible for only one term, to forbid electing presidents for two successive terms from the same state, and to adopt measures to prevent the action of enlistment laws of the United States.

These seditious indications in New England depressed the administration, and a committee was appointed to present the resolutions of the Hartford gathering in Congress for the purpose of securing constitutional amendments. Early in February this committee was in Washington to negotiate with the government, but Jackson's victory in January at New Orleans, together with good news from the negotiations at Ghent, made all who took part in the Hartford Convention a laughing-stock. The overthrow of the Federalist plans

to coerce the National Government was so complete that no man who was connected with the movement ever recovered his standing in political life. The signing of the treaty with England after eight years of commercial depression and widespread hardship, together with the fact that American seamen had been a match for the sea-dogs of England, ushered in a new and powerful era of prosperity and political freedom.

CHAPTER XXV

THE CONSTITUTION OF 1818

THE successful issue of the second war with England helped to clear the air, and prepare the way for the free play of the energies which were rousing themselves within the state for a vigorous industrial, philanthropic and commercial life. We are prepared to expect a ripe fruitage of political ideas after the long discipline in which men of large caliber had a part. We must again glance at the beginning of the civil freedom of Connecticut, in the adoption of the Fundamental Orders, January 14, 1639, when the people of Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield became "associated and conjoined to be as one Public State or Commonwealth," for the establishment of "an orderly and decent government, according to God and dispose of the affairs of the people at all seasons as occasion shall require." The charter of 1662, and the declaration of state independence in 1776, were outgrowths of this, and at length there came a famous and crowning day, when the constitutional convention met at Hartford, on August 26, 1818, to conduct the state still further in constitutional evolution. The royal charter of Charles II., while remarkable for its freedom from royal prerogatives, was more favorable to the aristocracy and landed proprietors than to artisans and laborers. When the United States cut loose from the crown, it was declared by the General Assembly that the government of the state should continue as established by the charter, so

far as would be consistent with independence. The royal charter was reaffirmed by the revision of the laws in 1794, though a number of legal minds had attacked the validity of the document, and had insisted that there was no civil constitution.

We have seen that from the start there was a close union of church and state, with plenty of domineering on the part of the church, and that there gradually developed the conviction that there were other people in the commonwealth besides the Congregationalists, who deserved legislative favor equally with the standing order. In 1770, a law was passed that,

> no persons in this colony professing the Christian Protestant religion, who soberly and conscientiously dissent from the worship and ministry established or approved by the laws of this Colony, and attend public worship by themselves, shall incur any of the penalties . . . for not attending the worship and ministry so established on the Lord's day, or on account of their meeting together by themselves on said day for the worship of God in a way agreeable to their consciences.

The question of religious liberty was persistently and earnestly discussed and agitated, and in May, 1777, the Assembly passed an act of toleration, "for exempting those Persons in this State, commonly styled Separates, from taxes for the support of the established ministry, and building and repairing meeting houses," on condition that they should annually lodge with the clerk of the Established Society, wherein they lived, a certificate, vouching for their attendance upon and support of their own form of worship. Said certificate was to be signed by the minister, elder, or deacon of the church which "they ordinarily did attend." This was a long step forward, but it was not satisfactory; it was humiliating to the petitioners, and there were sometimes petty obstacles put in their way by the Churchmen in power. By degrees, the broader-minded people came to see

that the Saybrook Platform was outliving its usefulness, and in the first edition of the "Laws and Acts of the State of Connecticut," appearing in 1784, all reference to the Saybrook Platform was omitted. It was ordered that every one who, for any trivial reason, absented himself from public worship on the Lord's day should pay a fine of fifty cents. All religious bodies recognized by law were given permission to manage their temporal affairs as freely as did the churches of the Establishment. Dissenters were even permitted to join religious societies in adjoining states, provided the place of worship were not too far distant to attend regularly. To these terms was affixed the sole condition of presenting a certificate of membership, signed by an officer of the church of which the dissenter was a member, and that the certificate should be lodged with the clerk of the Established society wherein the dissenter dwelt. All strangers entering the state were allowed a choice of religious denominations, but while undecided were to pay taxes "to the society lowest on the list." In any question of doubt after the death of a head of a household, the society of which the head belonged determined the church home of the members of the household, unless the certificates of all the dissenting members were on file. If persons were undecided, when the time of choice had elapsed, and they had not presented certificates, they were counted as members of the Establishment. As we have seen, toleration extended, oppression ceased, and Sandemanians, Shakers, Universalists and Seventh-day Baptists entered the state.

The Saybrook Platform was not annulled by the Assembly, but was gradually and decidedly sloughed off, as outgrown and worse than useless, but dissenters felt the humiliation of giving the required certificates and acknowledging a certain supremacy of the Congregational Church; they also resented the favoritism shown by the government in its preference of members of the Establishment for civil, judicial, and military offices.

The evolution of political freedom in Connecticut was aided by the general disintegration of political parties which took place throughout the United States from 1783, to 1787. After the Constitution was adopted, the Federalist party lost a large part of its reason for existence, and there emerged an Anti-Federalist party, an *out-party*. This is sometimes said to have been born in 1783, out of opposition to an act of Congress voting five years' full pay to the Revolutionary officers, and to the formation of the Order of Cincinnati. Both these measures touched the principle of caste, which prevailed in New England as well as in Europe. The leading Federalists preferred to concentrate power in the hands of the few, rather than to trust the great body of citizens. The Established Church and the Federalists were so closely allied that they were familiarly known as the *Standing Order*. Many of the dissenters were for a time good Federalists, but they passed over to the Democratic-Republicans, when that party began to make clear their demands for a broader suffrage and full religious liberty. The Federal Standing Order continued to claim legal favors, political offices, and the prizes of judicial, military and civil life, not merely because such honors were enjoyed, but also because it was felt by the conservatives that the body politic must be guarded by a state church.

An able and aggressive critic of the Establishment was Judge Zephaniah Swift of Windham, a thorough Federalist, and a powerful opponent of the law which fined a man for absence from church, unless excused for weighty reasons, and of the custom of taxing every one for the support of some form of recognized public worship, even though the taxpayer had no personal interest in that which he was compelled to pay for. This sturdy opponent of the union of church and state, though taunted by many as a free-thinker, had some sympathizers in the Establishment. The coming of the Rev. John Leland from Virginia to New London was favorable to the evolution. In Virginia the church and

state separated in 1785, and Leland had seen the benefits following that event. His book, *The Right of Conscience Inalienable*, put clearly before the Connecticut people the question of establishment or disestablishment, and he also attacked the charter of Charles II., as being in no true sense the constitution of the state, because it had never been accepted by vote of the people. He arraigned a union of church and state that needed a legislature to support religion. He said that other states had found it unnecessary; that it tended to produce evil, ignorance, superstition, persecution, lying, hypocrisy and weakness; that government had no more to do with religion than with mathematics. Influenced by such arguments, and by the public opinion they created, the Assembly in October, 1791, repealed the certificate law, passed six months earlier, and passed a law to allow dissenters to write their own *sign-offs*, requiring the signers to file their papers with the clerk of the Established society wherein they lived. Another statute was passed at that time to impose a fine of from six to twelve shillings for neglect of public fasts and thanksgivings.

At last, the inertia of the people was overcome, and they came to see that the mixture of legislative, judicial and executive elements, known as the General Assembly, with its control over religion and its caste qualifications, while fairly satisfactory so long as the community consisted of a few thousand souls, was incapable of meeting the diverse interests of a growing industrial population. There were party tilts over new towns, and the unequal growth of some of the older ones. The Council, or Upper House, retained the same members for many years, since experience was regarded as an important asset. The clergy also got together before elections, talked matters over, and then directed the vote. The Council had become almost a Privy Council; until 1807, it was the Supreme Court, with control over all cases of appeal, civil and criminal. Its twelve members were mostly, if not entirely, lawyers, with

vast power of patronage over members of the Lower House, and also over the militia, whose officers were appointed by the General Assembly. Moreover, since the united action of the two houses was necessary to pass or repeal a law, much important legislation depended on a majority of seven. Besides all this, the Republican judges, at the opening of the nineteenth century, complained that they were not on an equal footing with the Federals in the state tribunals. The new Anti-Federal party, or Democratic-Republican party, as it called itself from 1792, caught inspiration as well as name from the French Republic; its recruits were largely from Methodists and Baptists, though there were Episcopalians who joined it, and some of the more open-minded Federalists.

It was not till 1795, that the Standing Order had a great leader. When the accomplished and powerful Timothy Dwight became president of Yale, the conservatives had a captain, scholarly, versatile, and energetic, who became equally celebrated in religion and in politics. *Pope Dwight* his enemies called him, naming the ministers who followed him *bishops*, and the Council or senators his *Twelve Cardinals*. President Dwight determined to combine the activities that could be used to overthrow the forces which threatened church and state. The election of Adams and Jefferson in 1797, spurred both parties. On the Sunday following the news of the election, the Rev. Jedidiah Champion of Litchfield, an ardent Federalist, prayed fervently for the president-elect, and closed with the words, "O Lord! wilt Thou bestow upon the vice-president a double portion of Thy grace, *for Thou knowest he needs it.*" The Connecticut Republicans did not organize their party till 1800, when they began to urge the oppressed dissenters to accept their platform. Their leader was Pierpont Edwards, son of the famous Jonathan Edwards, and a recently appointed judge of the United States District Court. He was the maternal uncle of Presi-

dent Dwight, the great leader of the Standing Order. Another strong leader of the Federals was Theodore Dwight, brother of the president of Yale, editor of the *Hartford Courant*, and he led the civilians. The two Bishops, Samuel and Abraham, father and son, were both doughty champions of the Republicans. Samuel Bishop was senior deacon in the North Church of New Haven, justice of peace, town clerk, and mayor. He was also chief judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and sole judge of Probate. Abraham Bishop was a lawyer and clerk of court. He was a man of careless theology and exaggerated habits of speech. He would have been called a Unitarian a little later, when Unitarianism was regarded as a crime, and according to Connecticut statutes was classed with atheism, polytheism, and apostacy.

Abraham Bishop was honored with the Phi Beta Kappa oration at the Yale commencement in 1800, and instead of a polished literary effort, he wrote an address on "The Extent and Power of Political Delusions," a campaign document. The committee, to which it was sent in August, refused it at the eleventh hour, and appointed another orator. The same paper that announced the change in orators said that the refused address would be given to all who cared to listen, at the White Church that same evening, and that copies were ready for distribution through the state. Bishop had an audience of fifteen hundred, and they heard a trumpet-blast. The debates which followed were fierce and relentless. Noah Webster replied to Bishop by "A Rod for the Fool's Back." John Leland published his Hartford speech, "A Blow at the Root," and his "High Flying Churchman." Bishop published "Connecticut Republicanism," in which he said:

> Christianity has suffered more by the attempts to unite church and state than by all the deistical writings, yet the men who denounce them are pronounced atheists, and no proof of their atheism is required, but their opposition to Federal meas-

ures. The clergyman preaches politics, the civilian prates of orthodoxy, and if any man refuse to join their coalition, they endeavor to hunt him down to the tune of "The Church is in danger." The Trinitarian doctrine is established by laws, and the denial of it is placed in the rank of felony. Break the league of church and state which first subjugates your consciences, then, treating your understanding as galley slaves, robs you of religion and civil freedom. Thirty thousand men are against the union of church and state. Thirty thousand more men, deprived of voting because they are not rich or learned enough, are ready to join them.

In 1803, John Leland, representing four thousand Baptist communicants and twenty thousand attendants, sent out a plea, insisting that since thirteen states had granted religious liberty, it was time for Connecticut to take action. In 1804, John Strong of Norwich founded the *True Republican* to advance Republican principles. From 1792, the *Windham Herald* was the organ of the telling blows of Judge Swift, the powerful foe of union of church and state. On May 11, 1804, Bishop said in Hartford:

Connecticut has no constitution. We still live under the old jumble of legislative, executive and judicial powers called a charter. We still suffer from the old restrictions on the right to vote, we are still ruled by the whims of seven men. Twelve make the Council, seven form a majority, and in the hands of these seven are all powers, legislative, executive and judicial. On them more than half of the House of Assembly is dependent for re-appointment as justices, judges, or for promotion in the militia. By their breath, are, each year, brought into official life six judges of the Superior Court, twenty-eight of the probate, forty of county courts, and five hundred and ten justices of the peace, and all the sheriffs. Who may be freemen? No one who does not have a freehold estate worth seven dollars a year, or a personal estate on the tax list of one hundred and thirty-four dollars. We demand a constitution that shall separate the legislative, executive and judicial power, extend the freeman's oath

to men who labor on the highways, who serve in the militia, who pay small taxes, but possess no estates.

A general meeting was called by the Republican general committee, of which Pierpont Edwards was chairman. It was held in New Haven, August 29, 1804. Ninety-seven towns sent delegates, and Major William Judd of Farmington was chairman. A series of resolutions was passed in favor of a new constitution, and ten thousand copies distributed. The fall election of 1804, was lost by the Republicans, but there was a wide sympathy with the defeated party. The Federal leaders in the legislature of October, 1804, resolved to punish the defeated Republicans. Five of the justices of the peace who had attended the New Haven convention were summoned before the legislature to show why they did not deserve to forfeit their commissions. What right had they to attack a constitution they had sworn to uphold? Edwards spoke for the justices, and Daggett for the Federals, declaring the New Haven address an outrage upon decency. The following day, the commissions were revoked. The fight was on. Pulpits became lecture platforms; there was an insistent plea that since religion preserved morals, it should have the support of the state. A second convention was held in Litchfield in August, 1806, and its criticisms were more decided. For several years, so intrenched was the Federal party, so influential was it, because of several thousand offices within its patronage, that the Republican increase was slow. The ministers enjoyed taking a hand in politics, and were skillful at the wires. By 1811, the lawyers began to work against the ministers, who were planning to follow the method of the party machine, and make Lieutenant-Governor Treadwell governor, but Roger Griswold, an able man, and a favorite with the lawyers, was chosen. The lawyers, in talking about it, said: "We have served the clergy long enough; we must take another man, and they must look out for them-

selves." After the war of 1812, the ministers withdrew somewhat from politics; the Episcopalians joined forces with the new party of Republicans; the Methodists and Baptists added their influence, and the demand was made that "legal religion" be abolished, and "the adulterous union of church and state be forever dissolved."

A meeting was held at New Haven to cement an alliance between the Democrats and those of the Federalists who were opposed to the "Standing Order," and were "friends of toleration and reform." Oliver Wolcott, Federalist of the Federalists, was nominated for governor and Jonathan Ingersoll, a Federalist, an eminent New Haven lawyer, a prominent Episcopalian, was nominated for lieutenant-governor. The result was that the Tolerationists failed in 1816, to seat Wolcott, but Judge Ingersoll, with the help of the Federalists, was elected lieutenant-governor. The diminished majority of the Federalist governor, John Cotton Smith, foreshadowed the political revolution so near at hand, and the triumph of the new political party, first called *American*, and afterwards, *American and Toleration*. At the session of the legislature in October, 1816, the Federalists adopted conciliatory measures to strengthen their position. There was a balance due the state from the general government, and the Assembly voted to pass an "act for the support of literature and religion." One-third was given to Congregational societies; one-seventh to the Episcopalians; one-eighth to the Baptists; one-twelfth to the Methodists, and one-seventh to Yale College. The result was more decided discontent, and even hostility. The Quakers were assumed to be satisfied with their recent exemptions from military duty upon the payment of a small tax; Sandemanians and other insignificant sects were supposed to be conciliated by the act of the preceding April, which repealed, after a duration of nearly one hundred and eighty years, the fine of fifty cents for absence from church on Sunday. The people were at last free to wor-

ship as they chose, or omit worship altogether. They had yet to obtain equal privileges for all denominations, and exemption from enforced support of religion. The passage of this bill was universally condemned by every dissenter and political come-outer, and the storm of protest was sharp and violent. The campaign issue of the spring of 1817, was, "whether freemen shall be tolerated in the free exercise of their religious and political rights." Oliver Wolcott was elected with a majority of six hundred votes, and Ingersoll was reëlected lieutenant-governor by an easy majority.

Oliver Wolcott, the father of the Constitution of 1818, who was the third member of that family called to the chair of governor, was born in Litchfield in 1760, was aide-de-camp to his father in the Continental Army, succeeded Hamilton as secretary of the treasury, was the first president of the Bank of North America; founding, in company with his brother, large woolen mills near Torrington. In his inaugural, Governor Wolcott placed before the Assembly the questions soon to be discussed in the convention of 1818. There was need of wise statesmanship; mills were having a hard time in the business depression, farmers were burdened by taxes on stock, dairy products, and tillage; money was scarce; the majority had a scanty living; trades were few and wages low. A farm hand averaged fifty cents a day, paid in provisions. Women of all work drudged for fifty cents a week, while a farm overseer received a salary of seventy dollars a year. The wealthy had small incomes. It was said that the rich and prosperous Pierpont Edwards, the eminent lawyer of New Haven, had an income of two thousand dollars a year from his practice.

The Assembly had encroached upon the courts; in 1815, it had set aside the conviction of a murderer, and the judge, Zephaniah Swift, appealed to the public to vindicate his judicial character, insisting that the "Legislature should never encroach on the Judiciary, otherwise, the Legislature would become one great arbitration, that would engulf all

the courts of law, and sovereign discretion would be the only rule of decision,—a state of things equally favorable to lawyers and criminals." The committees to which the governor's suggestions were referred did little. A barren act of toleration was passed, retaining the certificate clause. Determined to carry the day in 1818, the winter previous to election was a time of strenuous agitation; at the spring elections the reform ticket won, seating Wolcott in the governor's chair again, giving an anti-Federal majority in both Senate and House. It was voted that the freemen should assemble in town meetings on the following fourth of July to elect as many delegates as representatives in the Assembly, to meet in a convention at Hartford, August 26, 1818, to form a constitution. Members of all creeds and of no creeds met at that place; seven of them were in the convention that ratified the Constitution of the United States, and such venerable Federalists were there as Stephen M. Mitchell, Jesse Root, and John Treadwell. Earnest leaders of the Established Order were there, as well as the powerful men of the new party of Toleration and Reform, whose founder, Pierpont Edwards, the youngest son of Jonathan Edwards, brought his profound legal lore to the convention. Alexander Wolcott of Middletown, the founder and father of the Jefferson school of politics in the state, was there, and Oliver Wolcott was chosen to preside.

A committee of twenty-four, three from every county, was appointed to draft a constitution, and five of these were of the Federalist party. The debates were long and thorough, but in the end the Toleration party triumphed, winning for the people all that had been promised, securing "the same and equal powers, rights, and privileges to all denominations of Christians." The constitution of 1818, was modeled after the old charter, and contained much of that famous and invaluable instrument, but it declared more clearly the principles of personal liberty. It established the rights of suffrage on personal qualifications, discarding property con-

Oliver Wolcott, Jr. (1760–1833), President of Constitutional Convention of 1818 and Governor 1817–1827

From a Painting in the Memorial Hall of the Connecticut State Library by George F. Wright after the Original by Stuart

ditions. It reorganized the courts, separating them from the legislature, reducing the number of judges nearly one-half, and in the higher courts continuing them in office until seventy years old, unless impeached. Amendments to the constitution were provided for. The legislature was to consist of two branches; the upper to be known as the Senate, to consist of fourteen members; the lower branch to be called the House of Representatives; the towns, being the unit of organization, retained their former number of delegates without regard to population. There were to be annual elections, and the meetings were to be held alternately in Hartford and New Haven, thus saving, as was estimated, fourteen thousand dollars a year. The governor was given the veto power, though a majority of the legislature could override his action. The union of church and state was dissolved, and all bodies were put on the same level of self-support. There were other minor changes; Methodist, Baptist, and Universalist ministers had been practically excluded from marrying people, and that injustice was remedied. Formerly, Yale College was the only literary institution favored by the legislature; under the new rule Trinity College received a charter, despite strong opposition; and one was granted later to the Methodists at Middletown. Teaching the catechism, which had been enforced by law, was made optional, and Congregational ministers stepped down from the place of political power. The lower magistracy was distributed as equally as possible among the various political and religious interests, and the judges in the higher courts were appointed for other reasons than that they were members of the Standing Order.

The victory of religious and political liberty was complete. Article VII. of the constitution reads as follows:

> It being the right and duty of all men to worship the Supreme Being, the great Creator and Preserver of the universe, in the mode most consistent with the dictates of their consciences; no

person shall be compelled to join or support, nor by law be classed with any congregation, church or religious association. And each and every society or denomination of Christians in this state shall have and enjoy the same and equal rights and privileges; and shall have power and authority to support and maintain the ministers or teachers of their respective denominations, and to build and repair houses for public worship, by a tax on the members of the respective societies only, or in any other manner. If any person shall choose to separate himself from the society or denomination of Christians to which he may belong, and shall leave a written notice thereof with the clerk of said society, he shall thereupon be no longer liable for any further expenses, which may be incurred by said society.

The Senate was to be chosen by districts, which at first numbered twelve; since 1828, not less than eighteen or more than twenty-four, and since 1905, not less than twenty-four or more than thirty-six. The House of Representatives, which in 1639, had four deputies from each of the three towns, was to have two electors from each town as then practiced, and in case of the incorporation of a new town, it was to have but one representative. As since amended, every town of five thousand is entitled to two representatives, and every other to its present number, which is never more than two. In case of the incorporation of a new town, it is entitled to a representative, if it has twenty-five hundred inhabitants, otherwise it is to be regarded as a part of the town from which it was taken, and shall be an election district of such town. Until 1875, the legislature met in Hartford and New Haven in alternate years, since then, Hartford has been the sole capital; since 1875, senators and representatives have held office for two years. The General Assembly now holds stated sessions once in two years beginning on the Wednesday following the first Monday in January. Voters were to be white male citizens of the United States, who had gained residence in the state, attained the age of twenty-one, and resided in the town for six months; to

have a freehold estate of seven dollars in the state, or shall have performed military duty for a year. This has been amended to give the ballot to every male citizen of the United States who shall have resided in this state for a year, and in the town six months; who can read in the English language any article of the Constitution or any section of the statutes; who shall sustain a good moral character, and take such oath as may be prescribed by law.

In view of the inequality in the representation in the House of Representatives, since a town of less than a hundred voters can be represented in the legislature, and the largest city can have no more than two representatives, a constitutional convention was held in 1902, to secure a reapportionment of the membership of the House through an amendment of the constitution, but nothing came of it, and the Connecticut town continues to be a unit of the government more powerful than its population implies.

After this sketch of the development of religious and political liberty, culminating in the constitution of 1818, little of comment is needed. The growth was slow, as might be expected from the conservative and deliberate nature of the people, whose disposition reminds one sometimes of the dog in the manger. But by degrees the victory was won, and the new constitution, giving expression to the principles which had been within the life of the people from the beginning, leaving behind the decaying remainders of an outworn past, became the expression of the best thought of the new age, and made possible the larger service of the commonwealth, as it passed out into a more diversified, and not less exacting era.

CHAPTER XXVI

INVENTIONS, DISCOVERIES, AND INDUSTRIES OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

WE have seen that from the beginning there was a decided disposition on the part of the people of Connecticut toward invention and industries, which promised domestic comfort, civic advance, and financial return. The early environment was so stern, the struggle for a living so strenuous, the wars so frequent and so exhausting, and the time required to learn about the resources of the commonwealth so well filled, that it was not until the settlement was nearly two centuries old that the remarkable genius of the people for initiating large and powerful manufacturing enterprises had free play. The change of the industrial life of the state from a narrow, retail method to wholesale combinations was not fully under way until after 1812, and the decade of the greatest relative growth was from 1860, to 1870, when the products almost doubled. From 1850, to 1900, the population increased one hundred and forty-five per cent., and wage-earners in factories two hundred and forty-eight per cent. With the opening century primitive industries were passing, and home-made devices to fashion tools and clothing were yielding to manufactories, which were springing up on many a stream, as Yankee ingenuity learned to change iron, steel, brass, cotton, wool, silk, glass, ivory, and clay into all kinds of goods for ornament and use. Connecticut was recovering from the long, hard strain of the

Revolution, and was directing her energies to the application of power to machinery for the building up of fortunes, and the development of the rich resources on every side. The training of the plain, frugal life of the earlier days had been severe and valuable; the eye and hand of the farmer's boy had been educated in the rude and varied school of practical mechanics. Times were growing easier, wages increasing, and land becoming more productive, as farmers learned to work it better, and enlarge the variety of productions. Towns were increasing in size: the census of 1800, gave the state a population of two hundred and fifty-one thousand; Hartford and New Haven were cities, having been incorporated in 1784, but they were primitive and small; centers, with stage connection with New York and Boston, a weekly newspaper in each, and shops with varied goods. New Haven had the advantage over Hartford in its foreign commerce, which began to revive after the Revolution. Her Long Wharf, three thousand five hundred feet in length, product of lotteries, private enterprise, and state aid, was finished in 1802, and was the headquarters of foreign trade. With Yale College in the heart of the city, New Haven was moving into the front rank of the new life of the state. Her town poor were no longer sold at auction, and geese and cattle were banished from the Green, which was beginning to take on something of beauty. The city made an earnest but fruitless effort in 1804, for public water-works; it was also making the beginning of a cemetery, to take the place of the doleful little burial-grounds, scattered through the different neighborhoods, after the ancient custom.

With the agitation leading to the constitution of 1818, and the push received from that fine triumph, there came also the increased self-respect which followed the second war for independence. We find many tokens of efforts making here and there to introduce industries more profitable than raising corn, barley, and rye; and a decided momentum

was given to the industrial advance by the passage of the *Joint Stock Act* of 1837, framed by Theodore Hinsdale, introducing the corporation in the form in which we know it—a principle copied in almost every other state, and by the English *Limited Liability Act* of 1855. The effect of this simple principle upon the modern industrial development of the world has been past calculation. With the opening century there came also machinery from Europe, and still more out of the skillful brains of the people. For some time the people preferred imported goods of more famous make and foreign label, but by 1810, Connecticut had fourteen cotton mills, fifteen woolen mills, eight furnaces, forty-eight forges, and four brass foundries, besides many smaller establishments, such as tanneries, ropewalks, distilleries, glass-works, marble and brick works, potteries, boot and shoe shops, tin-plate mills, gunpowder mills and carriage manufactories. By 1849, there were fifty thousand seven hundred wage-earners, and the total value of manufactured goods was over forty-seven million dollars a year. In the following fifty years, the goods increased in value to four hundred and ninety millions, and the gross value of the products per capita of the population from one hundred and twenty-seven to four hundred and forty dollars. In 1909, there were four thousand two hundred and fifty manufactories, employing over two hundred and thirty-three thousand persons at an expense of more than one hundred and thirty-five million dollars, creating a net wealth of two hundred and thirty-three millions.

Some of the earliest products of the forests and river banks were skins of muskrats and similar little animals, which were collected for fur and beaver hats, and the manufacture of hats for sale began in a modest way in Danbury in 1780. In those days of the Revolution there stood a little red building at the northern edge of the village, where Zadoc Benedict, the owner of the shop, and the father of American hatting, carried on his industry, employing one journeyman and two

apprentices, and the output of the shop was three hats per day. Soon after the Revolution other shops were established, and at the opening of the nineteenth century, hatting was the principal industry of Danbury, which now has establishments that turn out two hundred and fifty dozen hats per day, employing from three to five hundred operatives. There were in 1909, eighty establishments in the state for the manufacture of hats, employing nearly six thousand persons, and Connecticut stood second among the states in the industry.

In 1793, Eli Terry went from South Windsor, his birthplace, to Northbury, then a part of Watertown, and began the manufacture of clocks; and in 1802, he began to use water-power. Terry had been educated by the best English clock-makers and he was quick to see what the people needed. He took out his first patent in 1797, and ten years later, he was manufacturing clocks by the thousands, making parts to gauge. In 1814, he introduced the new and convenient mantel clock, which soon became popular. He also made town clocks, as the one for the Center Church in New Haven. In 1818, Chauncy Jerome began the manufacture of brass clocks, in Plymouth, and he afterwards moved to Bristol, where he manufactured brass clocks. Three workmen could take brass in sheets, press it out, level it under the drop, cut the teeth, and make the wheels for five hundred clocks in a day. In 1844, Jerome began to make clocks in New Haven, and his successful business led to the forming of the New Haven Clock Company. In 1840, the value of clocks made in the state, almost entirely for the home market, was over a million dollars, and the manufacturers began to look toward Europe. So low was the cost of production that the first clocks exported paid more than two thousand per cent. profit. The story goes that when Jerome, in 1842, shipped a consignment to England, the price at which the clocks were invoiced was so low that the custom house officers there, suspecting

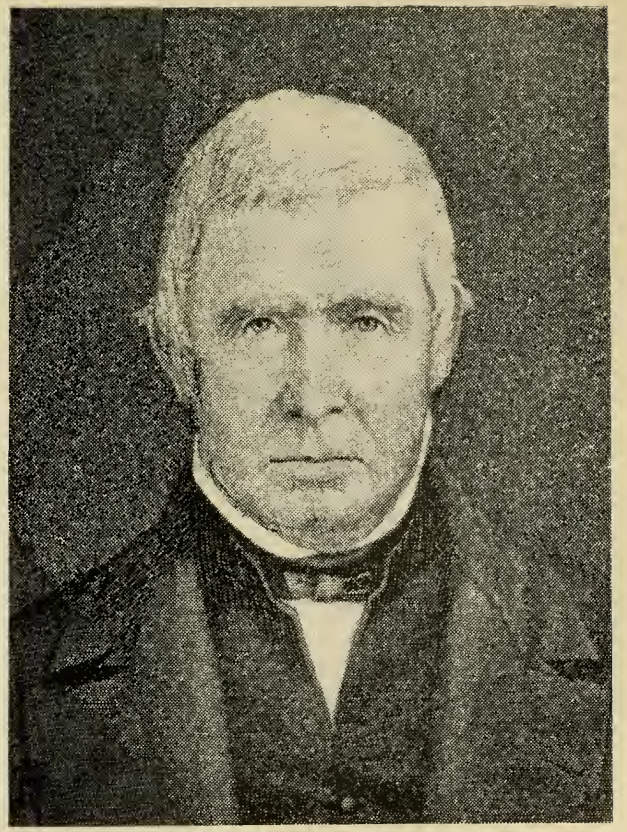
undervaluation, used their right to take the cargo at its invoice value, which pleased the clock-makers and they shipped another cargo, which met a similar fate, and when the third arrived the officers decided to go out of the clock business. Seth Thomas, who was born in Wolcott in 1785, became associated with Eli Terry and Silas Hoadley in 1809, in making clocks. The following year he sold his interest and bought in Plymouth the site where the case shop is now, and began his famous manufactory. In 1853, the Seth Thomas Clock Company was organized at Thomaston, and it manufactures annually four hundred thousand clocks, furnishing employment for nearly one thousand persons. Of the sixteen establishments in the state in 1909, making timepieces, nine manufactured clocks, and nearly three-fourths of the total output in the United States was made in Connecticut, which stands first among the states in the value of clocks and watches manufactured.

The pins before the Revolution were crude, being drawn from wire by hand, and the head was made by twisting fine wire around the end. About 1824, a machine was invented that made solid heads by driving a part of the pin into a countersunk hole. In 1831, J. S. Howe of New York perfected a machine which made a pin by one operation; his most urgent need being of skillful mechanics, he turned to Connecticut men at work on brass clocks, and the manufacture of pins began in Derby in 1835. Sixty-five per cent. of the pins and needles made in the United States are produced in this state.

The making of clocks and pins made necessary the establishment of brass mills, and soon brass was drawn, cut, beaten, or twisted into various articles. In 1905, seventy-three per cent. of the rolling and manufacture of brass and copper in the country was done in this state, and the gross product was over seventy million dollars. In 1909, Connecticut ranked first in the combined value of brass and bronze products.

Seth Thomas (1785–1859)

From the Engraving by Samuel Sartain



Eli Terry (1772–1852)

From an Old Engraving

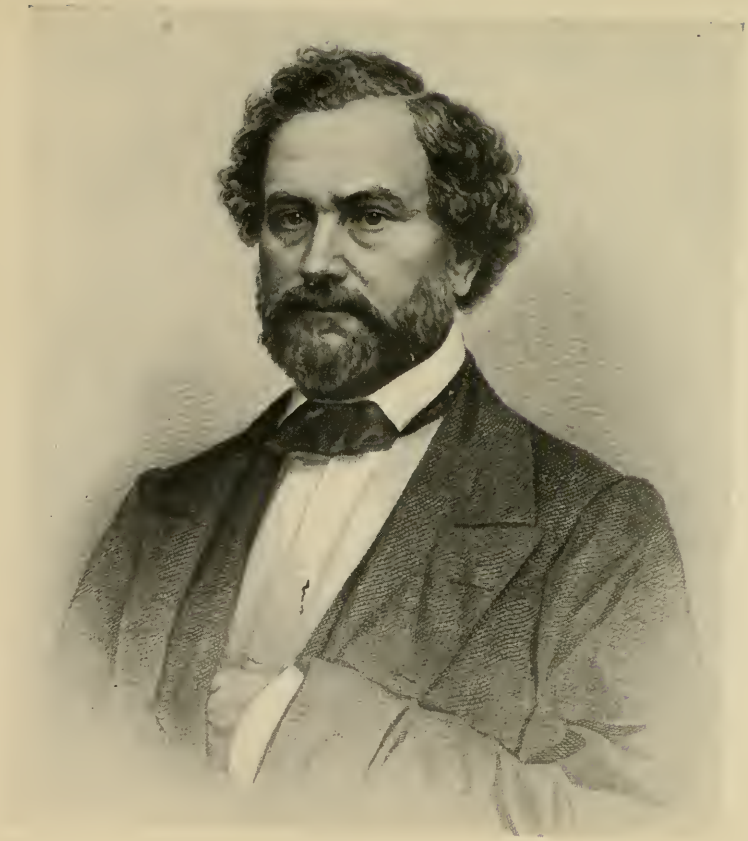
The tinware industries, made famous by peddlers, who after the Revolution traveled to the Mississippi and through the South, increased to such an extent that after 1815, single shops would send out from twenty to thirty wagons; in 1850, they were carrying clocks, copper, tin, and brass-ware, hats, shoes, combs, axes, buttons, and paper. The use of tin soon led the way to a demand for a better class of goods, and pewter, composed of four parts lead and one part English block tin, was introduced. Ashbel Griswold of Meriden and Hiram Yale of Wallingford were pioneers, and English workmen were imported by the latter to work a metal which was called britannia, a metal that would take a more durable polish than pewter, and the Yales became the largest manufacturers in the country of a large line of hollow ware. Other large firms started in Meriden about 1850, and the Meriden Britannia Company produced large quantities of goods cast in molds; before long the rolling of metals began, and in 1856, electroplating was introduced. In the early sixties, metal or nickel silver was substituted for britannia, and later, sterling silver has been much used. The invention of electroplating at Hartford in 1856, by Asa H. Williams and Simeon S. Rogers, was of decided value, and the business, which began in a cellar, graduated the following year into a factory, built for the purpose. So extensive is the silver industry in Meriden that it is called the *Silver City*. In 1909, there were thirty-one establishments in the state for the manufacture of silver and plated ware, employing nearly seven thousand persons, and the combined products of the industry formed over one-third of the total value for the country.

In the manufacture of machine screws, Connecticut ranks first in the United States, and the Hartford Machine Screw Company, organized in 1856, manufactures all sizes of screws, from those for the heaviest engine to watch screws so small that one hundred and twelve thousand six hundred and fifty-four of them weigh a pound. In metal-working

machinery Connecticut is third in the amount of her products, and the manufacture of machines of a high grade is made possible by the invention of tools for accurate measurement, guaranteed to measure one fifty-one-thousandth of an inch. Bell-making began in this state late in the eighteenth century and it has become an important industry, furnishing more than two-thirds of the total production of the country. The establishments engaged in this are principally in Chatham and East Haddam.

The introduction of lock-making in Connecticut is credited to Stephen C. Bucknell, an Englishman, who settled in Watertown in 1832, and made locks by the English methods of hand labor. The business was taken up by Eli Terry, 2d, and others; improved machinery and better styles of locks introduced; other firms combined, and in 1854, the Eagle Lock Company was formed. The company that has given Connecticut a world-wide fame is the Yale and Towne Manufacturing Company, which was located at Stamford in 1869, and the flat keyed lock, known as the *Yale lock*, is the invention of Linus Yale, Jr. This invention marked an era in the manufacture of locks, substituting a small flat key and a light-weight lock for the cumbersome key and heavy lock for the heaviest door; giving additional security against burglars, since the key openings are much smaller than in the old style lock. This company's vault door, with its time and combination lock and its automatic bolts, gives a large measure of security. Its buildings cover twenty acres, and it employs fourteen hundred operatives.

The success of the rubber industry is traced to the inventive genius of Charles Goodyear, who was born in New Haven in 1800, was convinced of a heavenly call to discover the way to make rubber a panacea for a thousand ills, and to stretch it to cover a host of needs. The problem was to treat it so that heat would not soften it; while experimenting with rubber and sulphur, he accidentally



Samuel Colt (1814–1862)

From an Engraving by H. Wright Smith from a Photo by Brady

Charles Goodyear (1800–1860)

From an Engraving

learned how to vulcanize, and obtained his first patent for it in 1844. He pursued his investigations amid discouragements and poverty, and a man who was looking for him was told, "If you meet a man who has on a rubber cap, coat, stock, vest, and shoes, with a rubber purse without a cent in it, that is the man." He even suffered from the benighted law which put a man in jail for debt. It was in the winter of 1839–40, after ten years of hardship, that he discovered the process of vulcanizing, and it came to pass that rubber became cloth, parchment, ebony, ivory, shoes, gloves, and tires, to multiply comforts, exclude disease, cushion the rough places, and ease pain. He died in 1860, deeply in debt, and some time after his death a verdict was given in his favor in the United States Supreme Court for three hundred and twenty thousand dollars. The process of solidifying rubber, making it capable of polish, and also of being molded into any desired form—the product called vulcanite or hard rubber—was patented by Nelson Goodyear, a brother of Charles; the discovery was accomplished by using an increased amount of sulphur, and subjecting the compound to a high temperature. The forms into which rubber and its compounds are wrought are legion; one of the most extensive being rubber tires, of which the Hartford Rubber Works turns out fifteen hundred every day. In 1842, a manufactory of rubber shoes was opened in New Haven. In 1847, the Haywood Rubber Company was organized at Colchester, with William A. Buckingham in charge of its financial management until his death. The capacity of the plant of ten thousand pairs of rubbers per day—the largest manufactory of its kind in the country—gave Connecticut the lead in that industry.

The manufacture of firearms has long been a prominent industry of Connecticut, and the parent company was organized by Eli Whitney at Whitneyville. In 1858, this was absorbed into the Winchester Arms Company, of which the Winchester Repeating Arms Company is an outgrowth.

When Eli Whitney failed to gain the profits of the cotton-gin, he turned his attention to the manufacture of arms, and undertook to supply the government with firearms though he had no facilities for making them, but he depended on Yankee ingenuity to devise machinery to make the parts by wholesale, and the Whitneyville factory was built. In 1835–36, Samuel Colt perfected his patents in England and America for a pistol with a rotary cylinder containing several chambers to discharge through a single barrel. The invention of the ratchet came to Colt while a boy of fifteen, during a voyage to India. There was some delay in the introduction of this revolver, as the government at first refused to adopt the weapon, but its efficiency was demonstrated in the Mexican and Seminole wars. In 1848, a plant was established in Hartford; the business increased rapidly with the opening of California and orders from foreign countries, so that in 1858, sixty thousand revolvers were made. In 1904, exclusive of governmental establishments, almost four-fifths of the total value of the ammunition, and over one-fourth of the total value of firearms manufactured in the United States, were reported from Connecticut, which in 1909, led all the other states in the total value of the products of the combined industries.

The invention of the sewing-machine is traced to the ingenuity of Elias Howe, who was not a native of Connecticut, but served as a private in the War of the Rebellion from this state. Howe perfected his patent in 1846, but receiving no encouragement here, went to England to dispose of his right there. On his return he found that others had taken up and improved upon his invention, which made a lock stitch. Wheeler and Wilson at Bridgeport carried the machine to finer issues, and their works cover eight acres and employ twelve hundred men. Connecticut is exceeded only by New Jersey in the manufacture of sewing-machines.

The woolen industries of the state are extensive, and it was largely through the enterprise of David Humphrey

Eli Whitney (1765–1825)

From the Painting by C. B. King

that these manufactures were placed on a solid basis. While Humphrey was a resident of the Spanish court, he improved the breed of native sheep by introducing Merino rams, and, in 1805, he bought a mill privilege on the Naugatuck River, now in the town of Seymour, where he erected buildings for the manufacture of broadcloth, incorporating the mill in 1812, making it the best equipped mill in the country. Before this, in 1793, Arthur and John Scholfield from Yorkshire, England, leased a water privilege at Montville, and put into operation the first woolen machinery in the state to run by water-power. The Middletown Manufacturing Company, organized before the second war with England, was the first mill in the state to use steam for manufacturing. Other large mills have been built in Winsted, Rockville, Talcottville, Putnam, and elsewhere, and Connecticut ranks fourth in the manufacture of woolen goods.

The invention of the cotton-gin in 1792, gave an impetus to cotton manufactures, and in 1806, Samuel Slater and Ozias Wilkinson erected a mill under the name of the Pomfret Manufacturing Company. During the next ten years many other cotton mills were built, wherever there was a stream with water enough to turn a wheel, and soon Jewett City, Sterling, Plainfield, Thompson, Willimantic, Killingly and Norwich became centers of the cotton industry. A modern triumph in the cotton manufactures of the state is in making thread. Fifty years ago, the housewife insisted on using foreign thread, and manufacturers of American thread were unable to sell their products without a foreign label, but in 1848, Gardener Hall began the manufacture of cotton thread at South Willington, and his son Gardener invented a finishing machine, a tension regulator and other valuable appliances. In 1854, the Willimantic Linen Company was organized by Hartford capitalists, and it was the skill of that company that removed the prejudice against American thread. The ingenuity and labor required to make a perfect six-cord cotton are suggested by the

statement that from the time cotton is taken from the bale, until a finished article is produced, the fibers are intercombed over six million times. There are many cotton mills in the state, which maintain its high rank in textile industries, with a total value of products of more than twenty-four million dollars in 1909.

In the latter part of the eighteenth century, as we have seen, the silkworm was cultivated in Windham and Mansfield, under the leadership of Aspinwall and Elderkin, and with moderate success. In 1829, the Mansfield Silk Company built the first manufactory to produce sewing silk, and in 1836, Frank and Ralph Cheney laid the foundations of the largest silk industry in the state. They began to manufacture at South Manchester silk thread from imported raw material, and the business was incorporated in 1854. For several years only reeled silk and silk fiber were used, but in 1865, the company experimented in spun silk with such success that the product in all sorts of dress goods, ribbons, satins and countless other goods rivals in brilliancy Europe and the Orient, and by one process a dozen different colors can be put on the same piece. There are forty-seven silk manufactories in the state, in South Manchester, Rockville, New London, Norwich, and Winsted, with a total product of over twenty-one million dollars' worth in 1909.

New Britain is the center of the hardware manufacturing of New England, and her pioneer was James North, a blacksmith, who made brass buckles, andirons and other articles. His five sons were taught different mechanical trades, and the eldest became proficient in the manufacture of bells, clocks, andirons, spoons, and buckles; a market was sought in Albany and elsewhere, and goods were first carried in saddle-bags. A thriving city has grown up around the manufactories of New Britain, which sends out car-loads of the products of her skill, extending from a door hinge to an automobile. It is called the *Hardware City*.

Litchfield County has been famous not only for its

theology and law, but also for the inventiveness and enterprise of its sons. Collis P. Huntington of Torrington was one of the five men to build a railroad to the Pacific; Junius Smith of Plymouth organized in London the first company to send steamships across the Atlantic. Oliver Ames, a native of Plymouth, invented and manufactured heavy cannon of iron rings welded together, and these with their superior strength, range, and large projectiles were a decided advance on previous weapons. Falls Village supplied the navy for years with shot, shell, anchors, and cables. The Borden condensed milk, which was such a boon in the Civil War, was the invention of a Torrington man.

Upon the organization of the Federal Government, an effort was made to provide that inventors should receive letters patent to entitle them to the sole use of their inventions for fourteen years. The first patent was granted to Samuel Hopkins for an improvement in pot and pearl ashes. This was in 1791, and the total number issued that year was three; the next year the cotton-gin was patented by Eli Whitney, and it was mainly through the exertions of Phineas Miller of Connecticut that the invention was brought to the attention of those interested in the production of cotton, Miller becoming a partner of the inventor. It was instantly infringed upon by people in the cotton states, and the partners made little out of it. One Southerner defended the infringement on the ground that it was of such immense importance that no private person had a right to a monopoly of it. In May, 1809, Mrs. Mary Kies of South Killingly invented a "new and useful improvement in weaving straw with silk or thread," for which she obtained the first patent issued in the United States to a woman. A patent was issued to Charles Reynolds of East Windsor in 1811, for his invention for propelling carriages by steam, and the following year there were patents issued for processes in spinning and weaving wool, cotton, flax, and hemp, also for making boots and shoes with wooden pegs and

screws, an invention widely used. In 1819, a patent was issued to John L. Welles of Hartford for the first printing-press with the long lever. In the manufacture of cottons and woolens the invention of Gilbert Brewster of Norwich gave him the title of the *Arkwright of America;* his improvements were on a wool spinning-wheel, a method of receiving rolls and spindle. A power loom for the weaving of checks and plaids, the first American loom of the kind, was the invention of E. Burt of Manchester. From 1870, to 1900, in proportion to her population, Connecticut led all the other states in the number of patents granted to her citizens, with the exception of three years when she was second, and the names of Whitney, Brewster, Goodyear, Colt, and Howe suggest the caliber of the inventors. A complete list of Connecticut industries would require a reference to bicycles, automobiles, paper, pianos, graphophones, paints, dye-stuffs, belting, and an almost endless range of Yankee notions. The state leads in eleven of the ninety-nine manufactures classed as *leading industries*, and in many others she stands high. The combination of dreaminess, shrewdness, ambition, practicalness, and ingenuity found in the Connecticut Yankee, together with the harbors, water-power, railroads, financial resources, and nearness to large centers, has made the state noted for the large variety of its industries. The desire has been strong to contrive a machine which would create a monopoly and make a fortune, and capital was usually ready to launch a promising invention. The tall, thin, clever workman, attending carefully to the task in hand, and brooding over the question how to devise a machine to multiply the product and lessen the expense, is the open secret of success in the Connecticut industries.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE LATER RELIGIOUS LIFE

THE intense excitement of the period of the Great Awakening, described in an earlier chapter, was followed by a long season of religious decline. It was enhanced by bitter wranglings, intolerance and jealousy, which plunged the young fervor into an icy bath, followed by the buffetings, worries, and absorbing interests of the Revolution. In the hurly-burly of war, the march of armies, fears of attack, anxieties arising from the fitting out of armies, heavy taxation, and forming a new constitution, it is not strange that religion suffered. There were many theologians in those years, and Connecticut had more to the square mile than any other state. The New Lights were prominent, and the younger Edwards, Hopkins, Bellamy, West, Smalley, and Dwight discussed the sovereignty of God, the divine decrees —extending even to sin—with a precision and assurance of which the angels might well be proud. They taught that all are totally depraved; all acts before conversion are from self-love, and therefore sinful, and that nothing is pleasing to God but absolute submission. A test often insisted upon was, "Are you willing to be damned for the glory of God?" A rigid path was laid out in which every one was required to walk, if he would be saved. These statements seem hard and the theology artificial, but as preached by earnest and tender-hearted men the impression was searching and often loving.

The moral and religious condition of the land was deplorable, as the eighteenth century closed; profanity, drunkenness, immorality, and Sabbath desecration prevailed. At the accession of Timothy Dwight to the presidency of Yale in 1795, unbelief dominated the college. There were societies whose members called one another by the names of noted infidels; the college church was almost extinct. Here is a description of New Haven, when Dwight was manfully leading the sons of Eli into a new era of faith.

Darkness seemed to cover the church. The means of grace were little valued; public peace was broken by disorderly and riotous conduct. Our midnight slumbers were disturbed by obscene songs and drunken revels. The laws were trampled on with seeming impunity. Magistrates were defied and abashed. The holy Sabbath was violated palpably and openly. Vain amusements, gaming, wantonness, and midnight carousing predominated. So hardened, so bold, so daring were the sons of Belial that the most solemn scenes were exhibited in mockery, and the darkest symptom of all was this that the disciples of Jesus were all the while asleep.

Similar are the mournful accounts of Glastonbury: "impenetrable gloom . . . house of God in great measure forsaken . . . family worship neglected and experimental religion by many treated with contempt," are terms used. In Lebanon conditions were gloomy:

errors and immorality gained ground. To many who professed to believe the Scriptures, the fundamental doctrines of religion were disgustful. Family religion was very unfashionable. The house of God was much forsaken on the Sabbath, and when a lecture was preached on another day, the preacher saw little else than empty pews. Youth spent much time at balls, which were encouraged by many of the old. It seemed that unless God should interpose, the love of the blessed Jesus would very soon cease to be publicly

commemorated, and the enemies of God would soon rejoice in the extirpation of even the forms of religion:

Such accounts as these could be given of many other towns.

Another depressing element in the condition of affairs was the use of intoxicants: ordinations, church-dedications, donation-parties, and pastoral calls were scarcely sacred without the beloved flip; barn-raisings, corn-huskings and elections were lacking in charm if Santa Cruz did not preside. Perhaps the most conspicuous illustration of the condition that prevailed was the fact that, during 1790–96, Nathan Strong, successor of Thomas Hooker, and pastor of the First Church of Christ of Hartford, carried on a distillery, in partnership with Reuben Smith, his brother-in-law, within sixty rods of the door of the foremost church in Connecticut. Records of the city show some twenty transfers of real estate, involving more than thirty thousand dollars, bought and sold by Strong and Smith, the pastor's name taking the priority in the deeds. There were also transfers of vats, stills, and cooper shops, indicating a large business. A story has come floating down the century of a sharp little sparring match between the pastors of West Hartford, Hartford, and East Hartford, which reached its climax in the declaration of the keenest of the three reverend saints, who said that one raised the rye, the second distilled it into whiskey, and the third drank it. It would be safe to say that they all drank it. From 1797, there was a change: President Dwight preached that series of sermons which revolutionized Yale; there was no great evangelist like Whitefield, but in many of the churches there were revivals, at intervals for sixty years. Says Dr. Griffin, the revival "swept from New England its looseness of doctrine and laxity of discipline, and awoke an evangelical pulse in every vein of the American church." The Connecticut Home Missionary Society was organized in 1798. As early as 1793, nine pastors were sent out for four months to work in the new settlements of

Vermont and New York, and in 1798, Connecticut led all the other states in organizing for home missions. Massachusetts followed her example the next year, and into the wilds of New York, Ohio, Vermont Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky and Tennessee the missionaries made their way. In 1807, the Connecticut Religious Tract Society was formed at Hartford. The New Divinity doctrine of benevolence was working.

Soon theological seminaries were formed to give a more systematic and thorough training for young ministers than could be secured from ministers, however able: Andover in 1808, Yale in 1822, East Windsor (now Hartford) in 1834. The last vestiges of the Half-way Covenant were swept away; temperance received a powerful impulse; Hopkins, the theologian of the movement, was an out-and-out temperance advocate. The new century came in with such a momentum of spiritual power that while the population increased enormously in a hundred years, church membership increased three times as fast. The religious experiences were usually accompanied by fearful self-examination and torturing anxiety, which often continued for months or even years. No conversion was regarded as sound which was not deep and heart-rending. An easy macadam into the Kingdom had not been discovered. A favorite hymn was this:

> My thoughts on awful subjects roll,
> Damnation and the dead.

An important phase of the awakening activities was the attention given by the churches to Bible study, especially among the young. On April 8, 1818, the four churches of Hartford united to organize a Sunday-school society: adopting means for the efficient organization of schools in each church, and soon the movement spread through the state. About that time the churches began to have prayer-meetings to feed their social and spiritual life; family prayer

First Church, Hartford
The building with its Christopher Wren spire was erected in 1807. The church was organized in Cambridge, Mass., in 1633, with Thomas Hooker, Pastor and Samuel Stone, Teacher

was restored; the catechism resumed its sway, and observance of the Sabbath, which from the first had been compulsory, took hold of the conscience afresh. Horace Bushnell, in describing this period half a century later, said:

> If they believed it to be more scriptural to begin their Sunday at sunset on Saturday, it was sundown at sundown, not somewhere between that time and the next morning. Thus, being dispatched, when a lad, one Saturday afternoon in the winter, to bring home a few bushels of apples engaged of a farmer a mile distant, I remember how the careful, exact man looked first at the clock, then out of the window at the sun, and turning to me said, "I can not measure out the apples in time for you to get home before sundown, you must come again Monday."

Deacons volunteered to aid the constables in enforcing the law against Sunday travel, and stationed themselves on the highway to intercept travellers who ventured to go from town to town without a permit from a justice of the peace. A man on one of the river towns began the process of domestic barbering too late one Saturday; tough beard and dull razor were too much; the sun went down on a face half-shaven, but conscience won, and a man was seen in church the next day with a muffler around his face. Boys could walk in one of three directions in the sacred hours—to church, to the pasture for the cows, and to the graveyard. Careful mothers felt that a more saintly atmosphere enveloped their children when they refrained from whistling or similar worldly pleasures on the Lord's day. A man living under a hill in Hartford County started on a journey after sundown on a Sunday, and on reaching the upland and finding the sun above the horizon he paused until the day was over. We naturally expect this strictness to find expression in law, and in 1814, it was enacted that there should be no travel on Sunday between sunrise and sunset, except for necessity or mercy, under penalty of twenty dollars. In 1838, there was passed a statute which

was a mild affirmation of earlier laws. This law directed that there should be no work performed, except for necessity or mercy, and tithing men were to be appointed in every town to help the constables in the execution of this vague but usually stringent requirement. The earlier law of 1702, went into particulars, declaring that "every person who should travel or do any secular business or labor, except works of necessity or mercy, or keep open any shop, warehouse, or manufacturing establishment, or engage in any sport or recreation on Sunday, between sunrise and sunset," should be fined from one dollar to four dollars, unless he were a hayward, in which case the law gave him the privilege of following his own judgment. The law of 1784, ordered that every person who was present at any concert or gathering for diversion on Sunday, whether before sundown or after, should pay a four-dollar fine. In 1872, it was ordered that between twelve Saturday night and the same hour Sunday night no room should be kept open for sports, games of chance, and intoxicants under penalty of forty dollars. A resolute but unsuccessful attempt was made in 1911, to remove from the statutes the Sunday rest laws. There was passed a measure which declared that it is unlawful, except in an emergency, to require a person to work on Sunday, unless relieved for one whole day during the six days following,—a law which does not apply to druggists, watchmen, janitors, or newspaper men. At the session of the General Assembly of 1913, it was voted to allow the commissioners of public parks to grant permits for amateur sports on Sunday. Another indication of the changes going on in the opinions and convictions of the people is found in the laws concerning lotteries. In the earlier years, the General Assembly often gave permission for lotteries to build roads, bridges, lighthouses and churches. In contrast with the lottery to erect the famous Bulfinch State House, was a bill passed in 1828, forbidding lotteries, under penalty of a fine of from twenty to fifty dollars. In 1830, selling

lottery tickets was prohibited, under penalty of a fine of from fifty to three hundred dollars, or from two months to a year in jail. Games of chance were also prohibited. In 1834, lotteries were again prohibited, and the sale of lottery tickets pronounced illegal, under a penalty of a fine of not over three hundred dollars. or jail for ninety days. In 1803, it was made illegal to bet on a horse race, the penalty being from ten to fifty dollars. In 1869, gambling on steamboats and railroad trains was prohibited, and two years later, gambling houses were declared illegal. In 1839, the circus was declared to be a public nuisance by the Connecticut statutes.

There were noted revivals in several years, such as 1821, 1831, 1837, 1857, after which followed the engrossing and exciting years of the Civil War; and after that came changes in commercial and social life attending the rapid increase of wealth, the swift invasion of thousands from Europe, the passing of the center of gravity from country to village and city, higher criticism, with a dismissal of older views of verbal inspiration of the Scriptures, together with the rise of perplexities concerning the balancing interests of capital and labor. The Litchfield Beechers, Lyman and Henry Ward, have done much to make clear a consistent view of the fatherhood of God, and the Moody and Sankey revivals of the seventies gave many people a fresh idea of a method of becoming a Christian without the protracted and tedious distress of earlier times. It is too early to give a clear estimate of the religious life of recent years, which seems to some superficial, to many, more practical than spiritual, and more rational than the Christianity of any earlier time since the settlers reached the Connecticut.

Evidently the Puritans of two centuries ago would be as much astonished at the types of religion and theology now prevailing as with the wonders wrought by steam and electricity, and it is not easy to present the views of to-day in a way to make current theology feel at home with that of

Hooker and Bellamy; but it is more cheerful, and the ebb and flow of religious earnestness does not necessarily mean ultimate loss; the rhythmic movement may turn out to be a spiral whose goal shall be good. Benevolence, whether we call it Hopkinsian or simply Christian, was a marked feature of the nineteenth century, issuing in a brotherliness which, after its fearful baptism in blood, wrought more effectively than at any other period since apostolic days. The sovereignty of God may have been of late too much in the background, but it is refreshing to find increasing attention to the alphabet of human brotherhood.

Henry Ward Beecher (1813–1887)

From a Photograph by Sarony, N. Y.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE ANTI-SLAVERY MOVEMENT IN CONNECTICUT

THE question arises in the mind of one who wishes a comprehensive view of the history of this state: What about the anti-slavery movement? Were the people too busy with their rapidly growing industries to take a deep interest in a struggle with the national curse? We have seen in an earlier chapter that for more than two hundred years, slavery was practiced in Connecticut. It reached its culmination in 1774, when there were 191,448 whites, and 6562 blacks, nearly all of whom were slaves. In 1774, as we have seen, the first action was taken against slavery, in the law prohibiting further importation of negroes into the colony. In 1800, there were 245,631 whites, 4331 blacks, and 931 slaves; and in 1840, there were seventeen slaves. It was found that slavery was not only unprofitable as a business enterprise, but the negroes were becoming prominent in the criminal class; in 1822, one-fourth of the prisoners at Newgate were black; in 1828, one out of thirty-four of the population was black, and one in three of the convicts was a negro, so that there was ten times as much crime among the blacks as among whites.

Reference has been made to the attitude of Samuel Hopkins and others toward slavery, and as the eighteenth century drew toward its close the abolition movement gained momentum. In 1790, the Connecticut Anti-Slavery Society was formed, with President Ezra Stiles of Yale College as its

president. In 1791, this society made an appeal to Congress for action on the subject, and the same year Jonathan Edwards the younger said before the Connecticut Society:

> Every man who cannot show that his negro hath by his voluntary conduct forfeited his liberty, is obliged immediately to manumit him. . . . To hold a man in a state of slavery, who has a right to his liberty, is to be everyday guilty of robbing him of his liberty, or of man-stealing, and it is a greater sin in the sight of God than concubinage or fornication.

Wilson says in his *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power:* Edwards "clearly promulgated the duty of immediate emancipation as distinctly as it was ever enunciated before or since." When it was proposed in Congress to lay a duty upon negroes, Roger Sherman said he "could not reconcile himself to the insertion of human beings as subjects of import among goods, wares, and merchandise," and Roger Griswold took the same position. At the first annual convention of the anti-slavery societies, 1794, Uriah Tracy was present from Connecticut, and in the convention of the following year Connecticut was represented by Jonathan Edwards, Jr., Uriah Tracy, and Zephaniah Swift; Edwards being chairman of the business committee. Early in the nineteenth century, the colonization plan came to the front, not to suppress the slave trade or abolish slavery, but to establish a colony on the coast of Africa, whither negroes could return. This scheme was not so much a plaster on the open sore, as a mild sedative to the consciences of those who thought that something ought to be done. There was always a strong element in the state that opposed slavery; in 1806–7, when Southerners sneered at the opposition of the North to the slave trade, Mosley of Connecticut said that if any of his section were convicted of being in the business, his constituents would thank the South for hanging them. In 1818, when a bill to enforce the fugitive-slave law was under debate in Congress, Williams of Connecticut opposed a clause

permitting freemen to be dragged to another part of the country for trial.

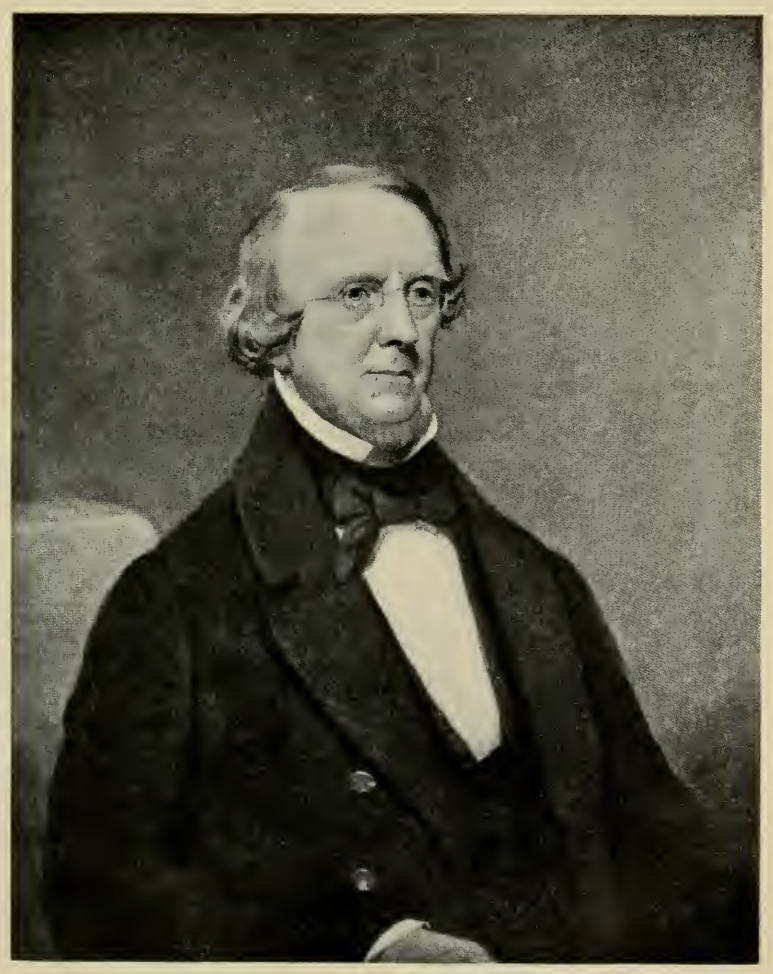
There were two significant laws passed by the legislature at the time when the question of the fugitive-slave law was disturbing the minds of many; one was a bill providing for a jury trial for alleged fugitives, and the other was a law which forbade any of the state officials to take part in fugitive-slave cases. The former suggests the sense of justice of the average citizen, the other a disposition to hold aloof from meddling,—that wariness that had such abundant illustration in affairs with Indians and royalist officers. In 1833, the New Haven Anti-Slavery Society was founded—one of the first societies in the country, based on the principle of immediate and unconditional abolition. It sent greetings to the old Pennsylvania abolition society, and received a cordial response. Among the leading spirits in the state were two ministers, S. J. May and Simeon E. Jocelyn; both of these being members of the famous anti-slavery convention in Philadelphia in December, 1833, and among the sixty-two signers of the momentous declaration of that convention. The Rev. Samuel J. May was pastor of the Unitarian church in Brooklyn, a born reformer and instrumental in forming The Windham County Peace Society in 1826.

During the violent agitation through the state, the *Christian Freeman*, a newspaper in the interests of anti-slavery, was started in 1836, in Hartford, and from 1840, the opposition to slavery increased in the state, despite the conservatism of the manufacturers and traders, whose business relations with the South were important. In 1845, the Abolition or Liberty party nominated a full state and congressional ticket, though four years before, the ticket had appeared in the state. In 1844, Governor Sherman Baldwin asked the General Assembly:

Is it not time that every vestige of a system founded in injustice and fraud, and incapable of being supported except by the pro-

visions of a positive law, should be effaced from our statute book? Ought our judges any longer to be constrained to withhold their authoritative declaration that here also, as in other free states of the North, man may be the owner but cannot be the subject of property? . . . I deem it worthy of the consideration of the General Assembly, whether the right of voting in town meetings ought not to be restored to our colored citizens, as they formerly enjoyed it when possessed of the same qualifications which confer the right on other citizens who are not electors of the state, and whether it is consistent with the great principles maintained by our fathers in the Revolutionary constitution to subject them to state taxation as long as they are excluded by the constitution from the right of suffrage.

The legislature granted exemption from taxation. After Governor Baldwin had entered the United States Senate, his first address there was in June, 1848, when he discussed the bill for the admission of Oregon as a state. Oregon had adopted a law forever prohibiting slavery, and the question in Congress was whether the bill to admit Oregon could be ratified. Baldwin said that Congress had exercised that power since the origin of the government, and it was at liberty to take any action it chose according to its judgment of what would be for the best interests of the territory. When the question concerning slavery in California came before the senate, Baldwin moved that the people of the ceded territory should remain in general under their existing laws, which prohibited slavery. For years the Free Soil party had a separate state ticket, though it polled but few votes, and many of the Whigs were with that party in opposition to slavery. Baldwin was a Whig, and the Free Soilers always opposed him; in the legislature that was to elect his successor, the more radical anti-slavery men held the balance of power. After his nomination by the Whigs, he was asked for a written statement of his views on the exciting topic and he refused to give it, declaring that it was beneath the dignity of a senator to make a pledge, and as a



Roger S. Baldwin (1793–1863)

From a reproduction by Randall. From *The Connecticut Magazine*, vol. vii

result he failed of election,—a misfortune and serious loss, for Sherman Baldwin was the ablest lawyer in the state, and in the judgment of a high authority, the ablest lawyer who ever practiced in Connecticut. He joined in the movement to form the Republican party, and was one of the electoral college from Connecticut, which cast the vote for Lincoln in 1860. He was a tall man of imposing presence, and the blue coat with gilt buttons and buff vest, suggestive of the sterling colonial days, formed a fitting garb for this powerful figure in American politics. John Brown, born in Torrington, hated slavery, for whose abolition he felt called; joined the battle in Kansas, brought his work to a head at Harpers Ferry in 1859, and went to the gallows disappointed,

His soul goes marching on.

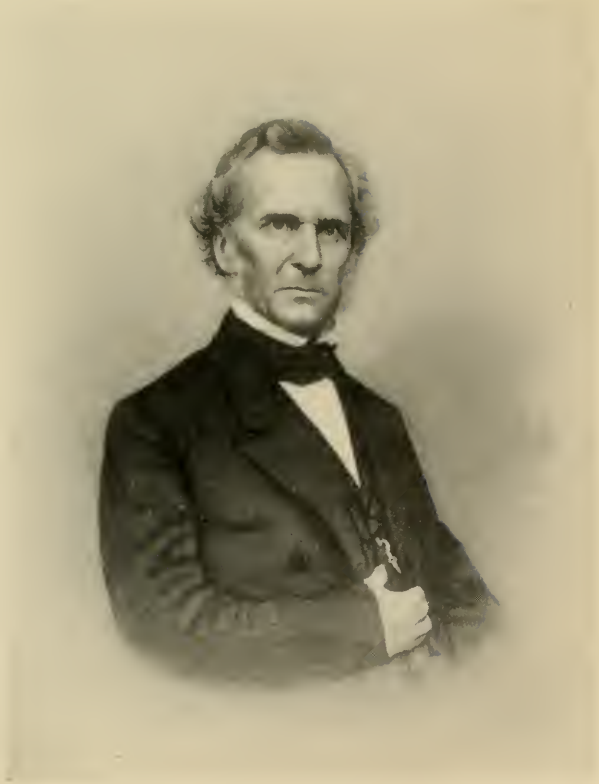
Influential was Harriet Beecher Stowe, whose famous novel, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, was a decided force in creating feeling leading toward emancipation. Litchfield was the birthplace also, as we notice in the chapter on literature, of Henry Ward Beecher, whose services on platform and in the pulpit for freedom were in the same class of power and efficiency with those of his sister, the creator of Uncle Tom.

Though Connecticut was opposed to war, and the General Assembly passed resolutions deploring its necessity, urging that philanthropic efforts be made to secure peace, it censured the state delegation in the House of Representatives, as well as Senator J. M. Niles, for voting for the admission of Texas as a slave state, as being in opposition to the wishes of the majority of the freemen of the state; the censure was especially severe in judgment on their delinquent senator, claiming that his vote was the deciding one. In 1847, by a vote of more than three to one, the state refused to amend the constitution by eliminating *white* before *male persons*, yet a strong anti-slavery sentiment was growing, and among her sons Henry B. Stanton, John Pierson, Henry Foster, John W. Creed and others worked shoulder to shoulder with

Garrison and Sumner. The fugitive-slave cases were fought obstinately in the courts and won for freedom. While colonization was thought good for negroes, it was popular in the state, and when the Republican party came forward in 1856, Connecticut gave Frémont 42,715 votes, Buchanan 34,495 and Fillmore 2,615. It is probable that the chronic conservatism of the state, together with the caution naturally fostered by the fact that Connecticut was deeply interested in the thousand million dollars' worth of goods which the North sent annually to the South, worked to promote a wariness which we do not now applaud. As we shall see in the chapter on the Civil War, when the struggle came, Connecticut, with her great Governor Buckingham, was second to no other state in the long conflict. When the call came for men, armed and well equipped, she rang true; and while idealism and passion for reform were not brilliant before the war, when the contest was inevitable, and the sword had to be drawn, the state was firm, level-headed, and patriotic.

General Alfred H. Terry (1827–1890)

From an Old Engraving



Governor William A. Buckingham (1806–1875)

From an Old Print

CHAPTER XXIX

CONNECTICUT IN THE CIVIL WAR

AS we have seen and as we might expect, Connecticut was not clamorous for the war, and hardly believed a struggle possible until the first gun was fired, but when the contest came on, and Lincoln called for soldiers, the state turned at once from shop and farm and was soon ready for battle. It was well that a man of the caliber of William A. Buckingham was governor—a worthy successor of Governor Trumbull. On January 17, 1861, he issued his proclamation to the militia of the state, warning the men that they were liable to be called out at any moment, urging them to be "ready to render such service as any emergency might demand"; on his own responsibility he ordered the quartermaster to buy equipment for five thousand men, a resource of decided value when the call came three months later for troops.

The news that Sumter had fallen reached Connecticut on Sunday morning April 13, and on Monday morning came the president's proclamation, calling for seventy-five thousand troops for three months; the quota of Connecticut was one regiment. When it was found that the law did not empower the governor to order a regiment of militia out of the state, Buckingham on his own responsibility called for a regiment to be made up of volunteers. Three regiments were quickly formed, but it was only by the personal influence of the governor, who went at once to Washington, that the second

and third regiments were allowed to go to the field. Mass meetings were held all over the state; in Brooklyn, Windham County, sixty men enlisted in thirty minutes; in Norwich, the five sons of Jared Dennis enlisted; Winsted claims the first enlistment—Samuel Horne, a youth of seventeen. On that strenuous Monday morning, April 14, there met in the office of the *Hartford Press*, with Joseph R. Hawley its editor, Albert W. Drake and Joseph Perkins; the three signed as volunteers, and by night the company was full, with Hawley as first lieutenant, soon to be captain, then lieutenant-colonel of the Seventh, and afterwards brigadier-general. The town meeting came into play; all over the state, money was voted to meet the crisis, to support the families of volunteers, and to insure a prompt response to the governor's call. When the legislature met in May, it ratified the action of the governor, and appropriated two million dollars for military expenses. Extra pay, to the amount of thirty dollars a year, was voted to every enlisted man during the war, besides six dollars per month for the wife and two dollars for every child under fourteen.

It was May 13, when the First Connecticut Regiment reached Washington, and it was ready for battle with fifty thousand pounds of ammunition and guns of the latest pattern. It had more transportation than all the other regiments in the capital combined, and on the day of its arrival, its teams were borrowed by the government. General Scott exclaimed, "Thank God, we have one regiment ready to take the field; Colonel Tyler was prepared not only for a battle, but for a campaign." The Second Regiment under Colonel Alfred E. Terry followed the next day with officers well trained in the state militia. The New Haven Grays, the Mansfield Guards of Middletown and the National Guard of Birmingham were favorite militia companies. The Third went two weeks later, all three regiments were brigaded under General Tyler, and much of the efficiency of Connecticut troops through the war was due to the

Gen. Joseph R. Hawley (1826–1905), Governor and Senator

From a Photograph

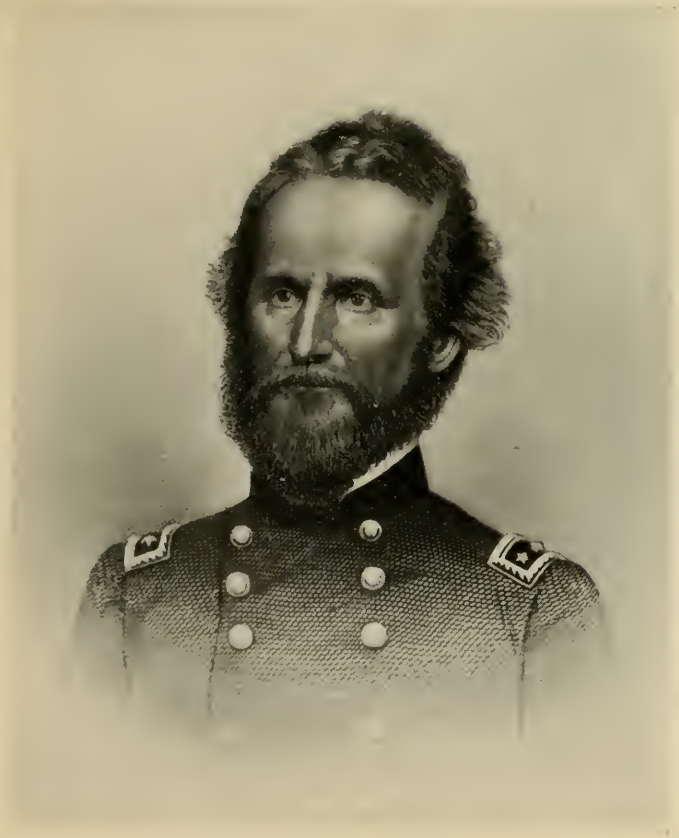
thorough drill of that able and conscientious officer. This brigade took part in the battle of Bull Run, leading the advance, opening the battle, and covering the retreat. When they marched back to their quarters in Washington, they carried their own camp equipage in perfect condition, and also the camp equipage of three other regiments, which they found abandoned, also two pieces of artillery, left by panic-stricken men. Said Stedman in the New York *World*, "The Connecticut Brigade was the last to leave the field at Bull Run, and by hard fighting had to defend itself and to protect our scattered thousands for several miles of the retreat."

The first general to fall in the war was General Nathanael Lyon, a native of Ashford, graduate of West Point and soldier in Mexico and California. All eyes turned to the border states when the war opened, and Captain Lyon, who was in charge of the United States Arsenal at St. Louis, gathered some troops and attacked Governor Jackson so vehemently that he captured twelve hundred Confederates in half an hour. When Jackson called on all "loyal Missourians to rally to the flag of the state," Lyon, already brigadier-general, responded, started for the capital with three thousand troops, drove Jackson from the city, and pursuing, defeated him, then marched toward Springfield. Two deep rivers were in his way, but he marched two hundred miles in eleven days, covering the last fifty miles in twenty-four hours. General Frémont was placed in command of the Union army of Missouri, and failed to reinforce Lyon, who was threatened by a large force of the enemy under Price and McCullough; in a night attack, Lyon, with five thousand men, met twenty-three thousand, in one of the fiercest battles of the war; during six hours the men returning repeatedly to the charge, driving the enemy before them every time, though gradually losing large numbers. Lyon's horse was shot under him, and he was wounded three times. With the cry, "Come on, my brave men! I will lead you!"

he led the last charge, and fell. No one could rouse the soldiers as he, and with his death the hope of victory vanished. The body was left on the field, but was recovered, and on the homeward route to Ashford, it lay in state in St. Louis, Cincinnati, Philadelphia, New York, and Hartford. No less an authority than General Sherman gave this tribute to General Lyon:

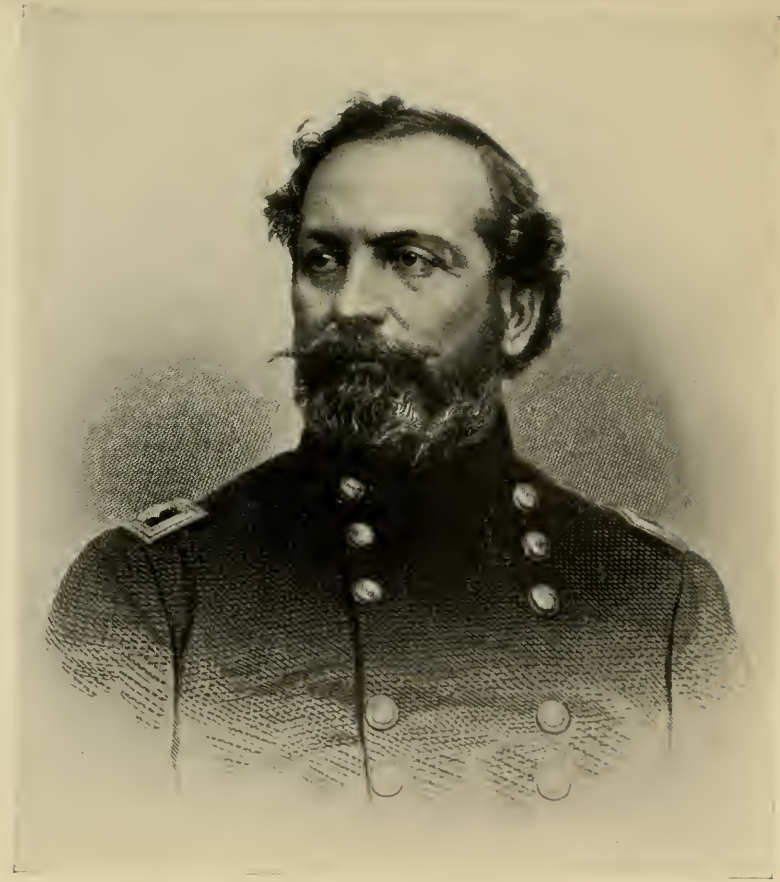
> He was the first man in this country that seized the whole question, and took the initiative, and determined to strike a blow, and not wait for the blow to be struck. That he did not succeed at Wilson's Creek was no fault of his, but the result of causes which he could not control. The act itself was as pure and godlike as any that ever characterized a soldier on the field of battle. I wish he could have lived; for he possessed many of those qualities which were needed in the first two or three years of the war, and his death imposed on the nation a penalty numbered by thousands on thousands of lives, and millions on millions of dollars.

Colonel Ellsworth, the first to fall in the war, losing his life while hauling down a rebel flag in Alexandria, was a grandson of Connecticut, his father having gone from Hartford to Michigan. At the skirmish at Big Bethel, Theodore Winthrop, a descendant of Governor Winthrop, a brilliant man and brave soldier, fell while cheering his fellow-soldiers to victory. The death of another hero sent a thrill of pain through the state when Captain James H. Ward fell. He was a Hartford man, an authority in naval matters, author of *Manual of Naval Tactics*, also a work on Naval Ordnance and Gunnery and professor at the Naval Academy. He organized the Potomac flotilla, the first Union war-fleet, which under his energetic directing cleared a passage by water to Washington. Ward was shot while commanding the *Freeborn* in an attack on Mathias Point. A prominent Connecticut man in the earlier part of the war was General Joseph K. F. Mansfield, a native of New Haven. After graduating at West Point, he became chief engineer in the



General Nathaniel Lyon

From a Steel Engraving



Maj.-Gen. John Sedgwick

From a Steel Engraving

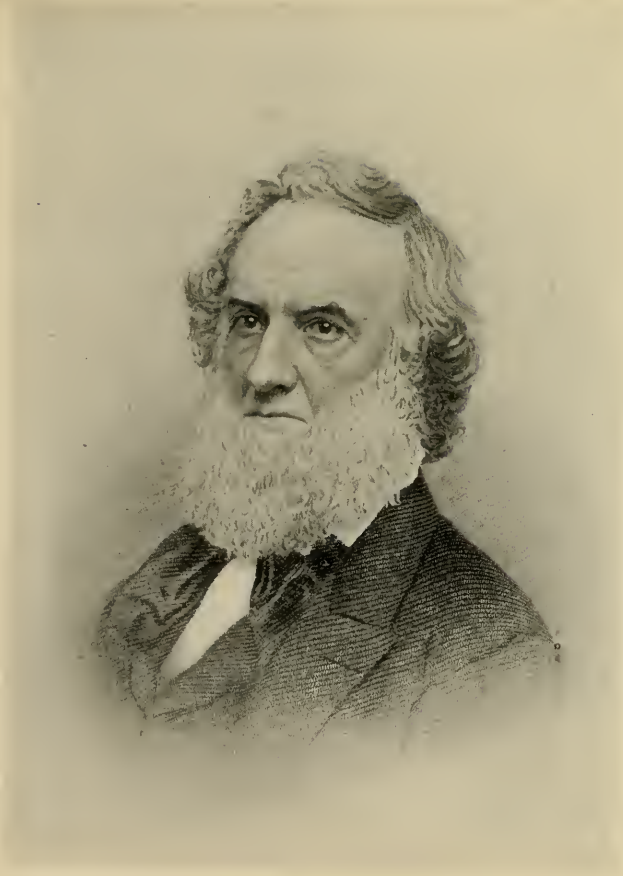
Mexican war under General Taylor. At the opening of the Civil War he commanded the Department of Washington, became brigadier-general, captured Norfolk, was made major-general of volunteers, commanded a division in the Maryland campaign, and was mortally wounded while heading a charge at Antietam.

On the day after Bull Run, Lincoln called for five hundred thousand men for three years. Most of the three months' men reënlisted. The Fourth and Fifth regiments had already enlisted for three years. During the summer of 1861, the Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, and Ninth quickly filled their rolls. In the autumn, the Tenth, Eleventh, Twelfth, and Thirteenth were sent away. In July, 1862, Lincoln called for three hundred thousand men for three years. The quota of Connecticut was 7145. General Daniel Tyler came home, and was tireless preparing regiments for the field. The Fourteenth went from the state in general; the Fifteenth from New Haven County, and was called the *Lyon Regiment*. The Sixteenth was raised in Hartford County, and Francis Beach of the regular army was colonel. To this regiment the town of Farmington contributed sixty-five men. The Seventeenth went from Fairfield County. A private in the Seventeenth was Elias Howe, Jr., one of the richest and most patriotic men in the state. A stringency in the government treasury had at one time caused a dearth of pay for four months. Elias Howe made out his check for thirty-one thousand dollars, the pay for two months, that the men might have money.

The Sixteenth had a terrific experience; in six weeks from the time the regiment went down the Connecticut River it was hurled on to the battle-field of Antietam, the bloodiest battle of the war. At the last moment they received their muskets, and the men were ordered to join the advance under Harlan. The second day only a half of the Sixteenth could be mustered; the surgeons had worked till they dropped from exhaustion. In that battle, Connecticut lost one

hundred and thirty-six who were killed outright, and four hundred and sixty-six wounded. The state was in deep sorrow after Antietam, not only because of the many killed and wounded, but also because of the passing of many into Southern prisons.

The service of the state in the navy was no less efficient than in the army, and the name that comes first to our minds is that of Gideon Welles; born in Glastonbury, he was summoned from the editorial rooms of the Hartford *Times* to be Lincoln's secretary of the navy. It was he who not only presided over the formation of an effective navy, whose battle-fame will never cease to be glorious, but he also achieved the difficult feat of cutting off the supplies of food and munitions of war from the South by the most extended and effective blockade the world has seen, so that the South was sealed in. The state also gave Rear-Admiral Francis H. Gregory, Commodores John Rogers, C. R. F. Rogers, and R. B. Hitchcock, Lieutenant-Commanders Henry C. White, Edward Terry, Francis M. Bunce, afterwards admiral, and Andrew H. Foote, afterwards admiral. The last named was a native of New Haven, and after a long and trying service in the Mediterranean and on the Canton River, he was at the opening of the war in command of the Brooklyn Navy Yard. When the problem of opening the Mississippi River confronted the government, Foote was called on to organize a flotilla of gunboats. With his customary energy he formed a river navy, and his name will always be associated with the capture of Forts Henry and Donelson, the two most important Confederate defenses on the west. There followed the more difficult undertaking of reducing the strong fortifications of Island Number Ten; army worked with navy; a channel was cut through the peninsula in nineteen days, and Foote's gunboats, passing through the canal, soon decided the fate of the fort. A wound received at the battle of Fort Donelson so enfeebled him that in July, 1862, he was forced to give up the com-



Gideon Welles (1802–1878)

From a Steel Engraving

Admiral Andrew H. Foote (1806–1863)

From an Old Painting in the Connecticut Historical Society Gallery

mand of the western flotilla; the same month he was advanced to the rank of rear-admiral. After a brief service as chief of the Bureau of Equipment and Recruiting, he was ordered to Charleston, to supersede Admiral Dupont, but he died in New York, June 26, 1863, before taking command.

The building of the *Monitor* at one of the most critical times of the war is associated with Connecticut. The fearful execution of the *Merrimac* in battle at Hampton Roads had caused great anxiety in Washington and through the North. Secretary Welles asked for a board of engineers to arrange floating batteries. The one man most capable of making a plan for a gunboat which could overcome the *Merrimac* was John Ericsson, and he was unable to get a hearing. In 1844, he had designed the *Princeton*, a warship, whose engines were below the water-line, and it used a screw instead of paddle-wheels. But the bursting of a gun, killing two cabinet members, resulted in the unjust refusal to pay Ericsson for his services. While plans were pending with the board of Secretary Welles, C. S. Bushnell of New Haven went to Ericsson for an estimate on the amount of metal that could be borne by the *Galena*, a proposed warship, which Bushnell was building for the government. After the business was finished, Ericsson showed him the pasteboard model of the *Monitor*. Bushnell was so impressed by it that he carried it at once to Hartford to show it to Secretary Welles The latter, convinced of its value, urged Bushnell to take it before the naval board. Bushnell secured the coöperation of John A. Griswold and John F. Winslow of the iron-works at Troy. He also interested Secretary Seward, who gave him a letter of introduction to the president, but the naval officers were not won. On a second hearing, Bushnell urged the past achievements of Ericsson as well as the merits of the battery proposed, but there was still opposition. Bushnell hastened to New York to persuade Ericsson to go to Washington to speak for himself. In a letter to Secretary Welles, Bushnell says:

I appeared at his house the next morning at nine o'clock, and heard his sharp greeting. "Well, how is it?" "Glorious," said I. "Go on, go on," said he with impatience. "What did they say?" "Admiral Smith says it is quite worthy of the genius of an Ericsson." "But Paulding—what did he say of it?" "He said it was just the thing to clear the rebels out of Charleston with." "How about Davis?" he inquired. "Captain Davis wants two or three explanations in detail that I couldn't give him, and Secretary Welles wishes you to come right on and make them before the entire Board in his room at the Department." "Well, I'll go to-night."

The arguments of the inventor overcame all scruples, and in Ericsson's words, "I returned at once, and before the contract was completed, the keel plate of the intended vessel had passed through the rollers of the mill." Bushnell, Winslow, and Griswold became partners with Ericsson in the construction of the ship; N. D. Sperry of New Haven and Daniel Drew of New York indorsing Bushnell's bond for his share. The four partners signed a contract in October with T. F. Rowland for the construction of the "iron battery" at the Continental Iron Works at Greenport, N. Y., "in a thorough and workmanlike manner and to the entire satisfaction of Captain Ericsson, and in the shortest possible space of time." She was launched January 30, 1862; extreme length one hundred and seventy-two feet and height of turret nine feet. The battery consisted of two eleven-inch guns, mounted in a revolving turret, supported on a central spindle. This was the first turret actually applied to a ship. On the morning of March 9, the "little cheesebox on a raft," the engineer ill, the volunteer crew under strict orders to avoid meeting the rebel ironclad, steamed into Hampton Roads. The *Cumberland* had been sunk, the *Congress* was burning, the rest of the navy at the mercy of the *Merrimac*, Fortress Monroe in danger, the northern ports warned hastily by the Secretary of War to protect themselves as best they could. The whole situation was changed by the appearance of the *Monitor*.

One of the bravest and ablest officers of the war was General Alfred H. Terry, who was born in Hartford, studied law at Yale, became colonel of the Second Regiment of volunteers, fought at Bull Run, became colonel of the Seventh Connecticut, was made brigadier-general in April, 1862, fought at Charleston and commanded a division and then a corps in the Army of the James in the campaign of 1864. In January, 1865, in coöperation with Admiral Porter, he made a successful assault on Fort Fisher, for which service he was made a brigadier-general in the regular army and was promoted to be major-general of volunteers; in 1886, he was promoted major-general of regulars. The persistent attacks of Terry on Fort Wagner ended in its evacuation; he afterwards took Wilmington, and served under Sherman in the final campaign against Johnston. The greatest achievement of General Terry was the capture of Fort Fisher, the guardian of Wilmington, the one port still in control of the Confederates, through which passed cotton and munitions of war. The works were regarded as impregnable. The man whom Grant selected to lower the flag of Fort Fisher was Terry, in coöperation with Admiral Porter, who came on from the West, after two years of able service, to conduct the naval part of the undertaking. The rebel force outnumbered the Union, but Terry left nothing undone to insure success. For seventy-two hours he was without sleep, so careful was he in his preparations. The contest was persistent and bitter; but at last the fort was taken with nineteen hundred prisoners, forty-four heavy guns, and many fieldpieces; General Terry, "the hero of Fort Fisher," was congratulated in personal letters from Stanton, Grant, and the president. Through the influence of those men Terry was made Provisional Major-General of Volunteers, though the legal number of such officers was filled. There was not another instance like this in the war; he was also the solitary instance of an officer of volunteers made brigadier-general of the regular army.

There was still another general of great ability from Connecticut, John Sedgwick; born at Cornwall, graduated at West Point, he served in the Seminole and Mexican wars. At the breaking out of the Civil War, he was appointed colonel in the regular army, and brigadier-general of volunteers, and he became major-general in 1862. He commanded a division of the Second Corps in the Peninsula campaign, and at Fair Oaks, May 31, 1862, the arrival of his division saved McClellan's right wing from disaster. At Antietam he was twice wounded, being carried almost lifeless from the field, and when Hooker reorganized the Army of the Potomac in the spring of 1863, Sedgwick was given the Sixth Corps which he commanded until his death. He was appointed to storm the heights of Fredericksburg, took part in the last two days at Gettysburg, and led in the pursuit of the defeated Confederates. He was prominent in the opening of the campaign in the Wilderness, and was killed at Spottsylvania, on May 9, 1864. Sedgwick was a man of equal kindness, coolness, modesty and intrepidity; he saved the day at Fair Oaks; he twice refused the command of the Army of the Potomac; defying danger he fell at length, shot through the head. An historian says, "The army felt it could better have afforded to sacrifice the best division."

The First Connecticut Cavalry had a remarkable record; its colonel for a time was Erastus Blakeslee, born in Plymouth, he enlisted as lieutenant, and in two years was promoted to the command. The regiment was in eighty-eight engagements, and of the twelve medals given by Congress to Connecticut soldiers for bravery, three were assigned to members of this regiment. It was part of Sheridan's renowned cavalry. The valley of the Shenandoah was its favorite fighting ground. At last, in Sheridan's powerful squadrons, it helped cut off Lee's last chance of retreat. The artillery of Connecticut was in the same class with the infantry and cavalry; the First Artillery was called by the great artillery officer, General Barry, "unrivalled in the armies of the United States"; of the Second Artillery, made

up of the sons of Litchfield County, General Terry said that there might be better, but he had never seen it.

It is not quite fair to make personal mention of so many, and not of many more who were equally brave and heroic: men like Hawley, Kingsbury, Chatfield, Rodman, Chamberlain, Trumbull, Camp and thousands of men in the ranks. Royal was the devotion of Connecticut, and no one has summed up her service better than Croffut, the military historian of the state, who says:

> The first great martyrs of the war—Ellsworth, Winthrop, Ward and Lyon—were of Connecticut stock. A Connecticut flag first displaced the palmetto upon the soil of South Carolina; a Connecticut flag was first planted in Mississippi; a Connecticut flag was first unfurled before New Orleans. The sons of Connecticut followed the illustrious grandson of Connecticut (General Sherman) as he swung his army with amazing momentum from the fastnesses of Tennessee to the Confederacy's vital center. On the banks of every river in the South, and in the battle-smoke of every contested ridge and mountain-peak, the sons of Connecticut have stood and patiently struggled.

He might have added that Ulysses S. Grant was grandson of Noah Grant, a South Windsor man who went as a pioneer to the Western Reserve.

The total expense of the war to the state, not including private contributions, or indirect loss, was more than six millions and a half. The population was four hundred and sixty-one thousand, of whom eighty thousand were voters, and from this number there went to the war 54,882 men, who were distributed among twenty-eight regiments of infantry, two regiments and three batteries of artillery, one regiment and one squadron of cavalry. When reduced to three-years' terms, the number sent from the state is equivalent to 48,181 men, 6698 more than her quota. Of these, the number killed, wounded, and missing, together with those dying of disease, was 20,573 (209 being officers).

CHAPTER XXX

INSURANCE

THE place insurance has held among the business interests of Connecticut for more than a century is sufficient reason for a somewhat detailed account of an enterprise in which this state has been famous for adventure and sound judgment. After the adoption of the Constitution in 1789, and the establishment of a stable government, the energetic people began to grapple afresh with the questions that arose on every side, and to pass out into various lines of achievement. In 1792, the Hartford Bank and the Union Bank of New London were organized, and soon afterwards the men who formed the Hartford Bank came together as an association to insure houses and merchandise against fire. In 1794, Thomas Sanford and Jeremiah Wadsworth, who conducted a general merchandise or department store, decided to venture to underwrite, since experiments in Philadelphia had shown that there might be money in it, and their famous *Policy Number Two* was dated February 8, 1794, and it insured the house of William Imlay for eight hundred pounds for one year, at a rate of one-half of one per cent. It protected the owner "against fire, and all dangers of fire; moreover against all damage, which on account of fire may happen, either by tempest, fire, wind," or fault of servants or neighbors. About everything was based on confidence in the owner of the property, who needed to "give no proof or accounting of value; but the producing this policy shall

suffice." Nothing was paid if the loss was less than five per cent. of the amount of the policy. The only people insured were well-to-do men who were above suspicion. On March 14, 1794, there appeared a card in the *Hartford Courant:*

HARTFORD FIRE INSURANCE-OFFICE

The subscribers have this day opened an office for The purpose of insuring Houses, Household Furniture, Goods, Wares, Merchandise etc. against Fire.

SANFORD AND WADSWORTH.

Hartford, 10th March, 1794.

On July 27, 1795, Jeremiah Wadsworth, John Caldwell, Thomas Sanford, Elias Shipman, and John Morgan formed a copartnership "for the purpose of underwriting on vessels, stock, merchandise, etc., by the firm of the Hartford and New Haven Insurance Company." Evidently this is the partnership of the year before enlarged by the addition of Elias Shipman of New Haven, who was made agent in that city, and the business was widened to include marine insurance. Shipman soon withdrew, establishing a separate business, and from the autumn of 1797, this was carried on under the charter of the New Haven Insurance Company until it ceased in 1833. It is an indication of the enterprise and good judgment of some of the ablest men of a century ago, especially the strong men of Hartford, that they entered upon the new field of insurance, and it is interesting to glance at some of the leaders. In the first avowed partnership for the purpose is the name of Jeremiah Wadsworth, an intimate friend of Robert Morris and Alexander Hamilton; a devoted patriot in the Revolution, promoted to the position of commissary-general of purchases for the colonies, and after the war one of the best financiers of his time. Wadsworth was one of the founders of the Bank of North America in Philadelphia, and on the urgent advice of Hamilton was elected president of the Bank of New York. He was

chiefly instrumental in organizing the Hartford Bank, of which he was elected president. His only son Daniel inherited his father's wealth and largeness of sympathies, and furnished the site and generous subscriptions for the Atheneum, which was built where the Wadsworth mansion stood. John Caldwell was a merchant who held many offices of trust and influence, building and owning ships, and providing much of the cargoes to the West Indies and other lands. He was president of the Hartford Marine Insurance Company; elected twenty times to the legislature; was on the commission to build the State House, and was one of the founders of the School for the Deaf.

John Morgan was a leading merchant of the Connecticut valley, to which his ancestor of the fifth remove had come as a pioneer. He is remembered as a courtly gentleman of the colonial type, and to the time of his death in 1838, he wore the colonial costume—a ruffled shirt bosom, short breeches, and silver knee-buckles, and was noted for his elegant manners. By the largest subscription and tireless efforts he pushed through the building of the bridge, and was president of the Connecticut Bridge Company from 1809, to 1820. Caldwell and Morgan carried their influence to aid Ezekiel Williams, Jr., for years the central figure in the marine insurance of the Connecticut valley. Williams was born in Wethersfield in 1765, and was grandson of Solomon Williams, minister for half a century of the church in Lebanon, of which Governor Trumbull was a pillar.

There was abundant opportunity for marine insurance, especially at Hartford, the head of sloop navigation, and the port from which many goods floated down the Connecticut. It was a laborious business, for the methods were crude,—not by definite companies, but by distinct combinations, entered into when a vessel sailed, and Williams arranged and managed this, collecting the premiums, keeping records, investigating claims, and paying losses. Many policies bore as many as fourteen signatures, and Williams had an account

with every man, collecting premiums or paying dividends according to the fortune of the vessel, for the assurers usually gave their notes for the premium, payable out of the profits at the close of the venture. The premiums for the round trip often ran up to ten, fifteen, and sixteen per cent., and rebates were allowed if the vessel avoided certain ports and returned safely. The assurers agreed to bear

perils of seas, men of war, fires, enemies, pirates, rovers, thieves, jettisons, letters of mart, and counter-mart, surprisals, takings at sea, arrests, restraints, and detainments of all kings, princes or people of what nation, condition or quality soever; barratry of the master (unless the assured be the owner of the vessel) and mariners, and all other losses, perils and misfortunes, that have or shall come to the hurt, detriment or damage of the said vessel or any part thereof.

The amounts written on a vessel varied: sometimes ten men would join, taking from fifty to one hundred and fifty dollars each; others wrote five or six hundred dollars; several ventured once or twice, then retired. When wintry winds were howling, a risk on a marine policy was a poor sleeping-powder.

We have glanced at the association of Wadsworth, Sanford, and others in the beginnings of fire insurance in 1794, a partnership which was dissolved in 1798. Some of these pioneers stayed in the business, and in 1803, were incorporated as the *Hartford Insurance Company*, and in 1810, a charter was secured for the *Hartford Fire Insurance Company*, with a capital of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars. The president from 1803, was John Caldwell, and the office was on the south side of Pearl Street, near Main. From 1807, the secretary was Thomas S. Williams, a younger brother of Ezekiel, an office which had strong attractions for able men, for Williams was mayor of Hartford, member of Congress, judge and chief-justice of the state, and his successor was William W. Ellsworth, member of Congress and

governor. After its charter was secured, the Hartford Fire, now the second oldest stock fire insurance company in America, secured a large man for president,—General Nathanael Terry, an imperial and imperious man of six feet and four inches. He was for long periods mayor, judge, and member of Congress. The burden of business fell upon the secretary, Walter Mitchell of Wethersfield, who received an annual salary of three hundred dollars, and an allowance of thirty dollars for rent; it was afterward increased gradually to four hundred and sixty, and then it gradually dwindled to two hundred dollars. Not a loss occurred the first year, and for the following three years, losses amounted to less than five hundred dollars. Insurance was at first supposed to be a matter of pure chance; no attempt was made to generalize the laws which lay beneath it, and as it was an affair of experiment, some paid too little and some too much; policy number one of the Hartford covered a builder's risk of four thousand dollars for three months at twelve and a half per cent. Number five took a risk of eleven thousand dollars on a gin distillery at one and a half per cent. per annum; number twenty-one was a risk of twenty thousand dollars on a stock of dry goods at seventy-five cents a thousand, and number twenty-two a policy for twenty thousand dollars on a stock of hardware at twenty-five cents. Within a few weeks of its founding, the company was taking risks thirty-three per cent. in excess of its cash receipts, and persons desiring insurance solicited it as a privilege from the company. For nine months ending in April, 1811, the premiums were less than three thousand dollars, and interest and dividends six hundred and thirty-eight dollars. Care was taken to investigate the character of the owner of the property, and at first no commission was paid to agents, whose compensation came from the cost of the making of the survey and the policy fee. Agencies began to be planted from 1811, in remote towns, such as Canandaigua, New York, Haverhill, Greenfield, and Middlebury.

All the companies made the mistake in years of prosperity of dividing the profits so closely that only two or three survived the heavy losses that came eventually. In 1835, at the time of the great New York fire, it was feared that no company could survive, but Eliphalet Terry, president of the Hartford Fire, having pledged his own property at the Hartford Bank as security for the drafts to be drawn, started in a sleigh with James Bolles, the secretary, with the mercury below zero, to grapple with the crisis. They found most of the insurance companies bankrupt, and a despondency that bordered on panic. Terry announced that he would pay in full all losses of the Hartford and take new insurance. It was the first sign of cheer in the gloom, and business poured in to such an extent that premiums multiplied, and the day of small things was left behind. The company pushed west and south; in 1867, George L. Chase of the western department was appointed president, and the new administration urged on the established policy with fresh vigor, aiming to have an agency in every settlement in the United States and Canada, where income bade fair to exceed outgo. The long season of unbroken prosperity was interrupted by the Chicago fire in 1871, and the company lost nearly two million dollars. The Hartford Bank again came to the rescue, and the Connecticut Mutual Life loaned the company half a million. Thirteen months later, the Boston fire called for nearly half a million, but the company met the drain out of current receipts. The small capital and large surplus of the Hartford give it a decided advantage, and the dividends are large enough to satisfy the most exacting shareholder. During Walter Mitchell's connection with the company the business was carried on in his law office on the site now occupied by the *Courant* building; in 1854, the company took quarters on Main Street, north of Pratt, and in 1870, it moved into its own building, at the corner of Pearl and Trumbull.

The first incorporated insurance company in the state

still exists, and through all changes it holds fast to the simple plan of its founders. On the evening of December 29, 1794, a number of substantial citizens of Norwich met to consider plans for mutual protection against losses by fire. They were tired of the old way of passing round the hat to aid a neighbor. A month later they met again, and approved a basis for an association in which every person joining agreed to pay a premium of one-half of one per cent. the first year, one-third the second, and one-fourth thereafter. In 1795, the association was incorporated by the name of the Mutual Assurance Company of the City of Norwich. The company continues to do a modest and safe business. The Norwich Marine Insurance Company, which was chartered in 1803, in 1818, became the Norwich Fire Insurance Company, the earliest stock company in the state, did a limited and hand to mouth business until the Chicago fire in 1871, when it ceased its quiet existence. The Middletown Insurance Company was organized in 1803, and the Union of New London in 1805; the business of these companies was confined wholly to marine insurance, and during the embargo of 1807, the French spoliation seizures, and the war with England, they had a hard time, but those that weathered the storm flourished later,—the Norwich, by changing to fire insurance in 1818.

There is a curious tradition connected with the Ætna Insurance Company, incorporated in 1819, that the immediate occasion of its forming was the fact that Walter Mitchell, first secretary and general factotum of the Hartford Fire, was rather heavy in his methods, requiring any one seeking insurance to go to his office at hours to suit the lawyer, who needed to start for his Wethersfield home at an early hour, especially when the mud was up to the hubs; the story goes that after enduring a continuous strain upon their patience, some of the Hartford merchants formed a new company, the Ætna, which started with a capital of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, with the privilege of

increasing it to half a million. At the first meeting of the directors at Morgan's Coffee House, Thomas K. Brace was chosen president and Isaac Perkins secretary. The total expenses for the first year, including the secretary's salary of two hundred and twenty-five dollars, reached the total of four hundred and fifty dollars. It was a part of the policy of the Ætna to push the business of the company with energy, and there began at that time the practice of noting the differing results of insuring different classes of buildings and merchandise, and of collecting a classified list of risks, with a corresponding list of rates. This is said to have originated in the office of the Ætna, where the secretary was requested to keep a blank book in which he was to record statistics of fires as they were described in the newspapers, and to give an account of the kind of place and property in each case, a decided step toward the scientific treatment of insurance. This company initiated the radical departure of planting agencies at the more important centers of trade. In 1822, the directors voted to request the secretary "to journey on the seaboard of Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Maine, and from thence through the interior of the country, home, and establish agencies at all places where he may think proper, and for his service he shall be allowed his expenses and two dollars per day." The Ætna was the first company to issue a policy in Chicago, having appointed Gurdon S. Hubbard to represent it there; for thirty years he did an extensive pioneer work in the cities of the Middle West and as far south as New Orleans. In 1843, the Ætna entered upon the risks of inland navigation on cargoes of steamers and pole boats, but not on the boats themselves, nor on cargoes loaded on "that species of craft called boxes, arks or broad-horns." A policy was issued in 1859, at the rate of one-half of one per cent., on fifteen negroes, valued at sixteen thousand dollars. The Ætna escaped the great New York fire of 1835, but ten years later a six million dollar fire in New York cost this company

one hundred and fifteen thousand dollars. When the news reached Hartford, President Brace called a meeting of the directors, and they sat in silence while the safe was unlocked and the stocks and bonds taken out. The silence was broken by the question, "Mr. Brace, what will you do?" "Do?" he replied. "Go to New York and pay the losses, if it takes every dollar there," pointing to the packages, "and my own fortune besides." "Good," responded the others, "we will stand with you with our fortunes also." Such an increase of premium-receipts followed that in twelve months the Ætna was as strong in cash as before. In 1853, it opened an office in Cincinnati, and soon a thousand agents were at work west of the Alleghenies, and wealth piled up. In 1857, the safe and able Thomas K. Brace, through whose influence mainly the Ætna came into existence, resigned the presidency, and was followed by Edwin R. Ripley who began to arrange statistics in regard to relative hazards, a method which has been applied to every kind of risk, and has led to scientific underwriting. In 1835, the first blank proof of loss was issued, in a form which is substantially that in common use to-day, and two years later it issued the first chromo poster, picturing a steamer throwing a stream of water on a burning block; in 1857, it introduced the use of outline maps—germ of the Sanborn maps. The Ætna has the largest capital in the world—four million dollars.

The third great Hartford fire insurance company to organize was the Protection, which was incorporated in 1825, with William Wolcott Ellsworth, son of the Chief Justice, as president, Thomas C. Perkins, the distinguished lawyer, as secretary, and the versatile and powerful Ephraim Robins as general agent, with an office at Cincinnati; and soon two hundred and fifty agents were at work in Ohio and neighboring states. The Protection was fortunate in the efficient services of Mark Howard, who in 1846, became a special agent for the exclusive work of supervision and adjustment; in those days when there were few railroads, he went

from Maine to Louisiana, mostly by canal, stage and steamboat. When the St. Louis fire came in 1849, Mark Howard walked through the deserted streets of the city devastated by the cholera, and paid in full the claims of his company. Correct views of conducting the business were slowly developing. Like most of the other companies of the time, the Protection lived from hand to mouth. The necessity of reserves had not been learned. One-half of the capital was represented by stock-notes, and final statements were strained to make a fair showing. At last, on September 7, 1854, the Protection collapsed, and three years later, the Merchants was chartered, with Mark Howard as president. In the management of this company, whose book of subscriptions was opened July 2, 1857, Howard insisted that success depended more on carefully selected lines of risks rather than on a large volume of premiums. This was the first company in Connecticut to repudiate building on stock-notes. Business increased rapidly and in a few years it was supposed to be impregnable, but in October, 1871, the Chicago fire came, with a loss of over a million, five times the amount of the capital of the Merchants, and nearly half a million in excess of its entire assets, and there was only one thing to do: everything was sold and the proceeds applied. It was then decided to continue the business of the Merchants under the charter of the National, a charter for which had been secured two years before, and Mark Howard was elected president and James Nichols secretary. The prosperity of this company has been substantial. President Howard died in 1887, leaving the memory of a man of lofty ideals and devotion to principle. His instruction book, which he prepared for the Protection about 1848, was the most elaborate of any ever issued, becoming the basis of similar books that have followed. There for the first time appeared the definitions of insurance terms, the treatment of *moral hazard*, *local and internal hazard*, and full instruction for the inspection of

risks. He also gave standards for the rating of many risks, forms of policy for many hazards, and for the first time the three-quarter value clause.

The Mutual Security Company, organized in New Haven in 1841, for a time confined itself mainly to marine business, but in 1872, it reduced its marine risks and extended its fire business until it had a thousand agencies. It is a favorite company in New Haven, and justly, because of the character of the officers. The Connecticut Fire Insurance Company was organized in Hartford in 1850, with Benjamin W. Greene as president, and John B. Eldredge secretary. The policy deliberately chosen was one of conservatism so positive that it was said that if the president insured a load of pig iron in a ten-acre lot, he would lie awake nights fearing that it might take fire with spontaneous combustion. It is not strange that he was cautious, for he had protested against the dangerous policy of the Protection, of which he was a director. Safety rather than large receipts was the watchword. In 1871, the company was brought near the brink of ruin by the Chicago fire; a settlement was made whereby the Connecticut Fire saved its charter and its plant, increased its capital to half a million, and passed on into a strong career. No one else contributed more to this fine achievement than John D. Browne, whose record from his home in Plainville, as secretary and president of the company, is of the highest character. Conservative in judgment, tireless in energy and of sterling integrity, his service was priceless. In 1885, the company completed its home office, a beautiful building after the Byzantine style, situated on Prospect Street.

The Phœnix was organized in 1854, and with Simeon L. Loomis president and Henry Kellogg secretary, the company sprang swiftly to a strong position. It took the lead in planting agencies up and down the Pacific coast. In 1871, the Phœnix had accumulated nearly two million dollars of solid assets, which enabled it to pay in full the

Chicago losses of nearly a million dollars. At the time of the fire, Marshall Jewell, a large stockholder and director, happening to be in Detroit, hurried to the spot at the request of the president, mounted a dry-goods box in the presence of the half-crazed crowd, he announced that the company would pay all the losses in full, and he drew his check for ten thousand dollars for the first claim presented. Immediately the *Tribune* dropped from its window a huge placard, announcing that the Phœnix had begun to pay all its loss in full. The news spread, and the crowd laughed, cheered, and cried by turns. The growth of the company of late has been vigorous.

The Orient, organized in 1871, was the lineal successor of the City Fire Insurance Company, which ceased after the Chicago fire. Under careful management the company has had decided success, enduring the heavy blow from the Boston fire; moving on into a strong position, which has been reinforced by coming under the controlling influence of the London and Lancashire in 1900, and since that time it has gone on faster than ever. The quarters of the Orient were moved in 1904, from the Goodwin building on Asylum Street to a handsome structure opposite the capitol, the first departure from the insurance section of the city, an example soon to be followed by the Rossia Insurance Company of St. Petersburg, which has secured a site at the corner of Broad Street and Farmington Avenue. In 1880, the Scottish Union and National Insurance Company of Edinburgh and the Lion Fire of London made Hartford their headquarters. There are many other companies of those chartered by the Assembly that deserve mention; nearly forty mutual companies have been incorporated in different parts of the state, such as the Hartford County Mutual, Middlesex Mutual, New London County Mutual, Farmington Valley Mutual, and Litchfield Mutual. Connecticut has become a noted center for fire insurance, and in no other department of business has the ability of many

of the ablest men of the state been more clearly seen than in this. The true principles of insurance have been learned by study and often by heavy losses. Five of the nine Hartford companies in existence at the time of the Chicago fire went out of commission then, and the aggregate of the losses which the nine companies endured was eleven million dollars.

It is interesting to consider that in the early years some of the companies furnished fire sacks to the firemen to aid in removing goods from burning buildings, and it was voted in 1819, that the Hartford Fire Insurance Company appropriate twenty dollars toward the "watch of the city." As late as 1840, every able-bodied man in Hartford was required to attend fires whenever they came, and whatever the weather, or pay a fine of two dollars. Water for the flames was often carried by the bucket brigade, which formed a double line to the nearest well, stream, or pond, and the hand engines often performed valuable service. In times of strain, when millions were going up in smoke, and also while the flames were consuming cottage or barn, peace of mind has come to many through their confidence in the sterling character of the fire insurance companies of Connecticut. Many foreign companies have their principal places of business in Hartford, and among fire companies of recent origin the Standard is prominent.

After fifty years of success with marine and fire insurance, the question arose in Hartford, "Why not apply this principle to the securing of similar benefits upon life?" It was Pinckney W. Ellsworth, agent of the International of London, and James L. Howard, who had taken out a policy in the Mutual Benefit of New Jersey, and had accepted the agency of that company, who first called the attention of the people to the value of life insurance. Several prominent men took out policies in the Mutual Benefit, and soon the "interests and objects" of this form of protection were the talk of the town. There were prejudices in some minds

against an attempt to *gamble with death* and to put a stake upon the decrees of the Almighty, but this opposition soon died away as common sense came to the front, and in 1846, a charter was granted to ten representative citizens of Hartford, to all others who were to become "members or associates with them" and to their successors to form the Connecticut Mutual Life Insurance Company. The directors thought their way carefully into an organization which protected the company from disaster in the early years, and led the way later to a distinguished success as a mutual company.

The element that gave a certain security for a time was the Guarantee Fund—a fund of fifty thousand dollars formed by individual notes secured by at least one responsible name, one-half payable in five years and the other half in ten years, or sooner if required by the company. On December 7, 1846, the entire amount had been taken up and the company was launched with the watchword, *Family Protection.* No risk greater than five thousand dollars was taken on any life, and all premiums amounting to fifty dollars on policies running for five years or more could be paid one-half in cash, and the remainder in a year with surety, bearing interest at the rate of six per cent., subject to assessments if required for losses. The premium note system which had been used in fire insurance enabled people to take out larger policies than their ready cash admitted, was a favorite feature of the early practice, and a powerful factor in the majority of companies of the country until 1869, when it was abandoned by the Connecticut Mutual, largely on account of the attitude of the insurance superintendent of New York, though Elizur Wright calls it "the safest possible investment of the company." The guarantee capital was retired in 1856, when the assets of the company were over two millions and there was twenty-three millions of insurance; thus the Connecticut Mutual Life Insurance Company became purely mutual.

There was little scientific knowledge of insurance in the country before 1860, and the method of disposing of the surplus was by a rule of thumb. Until 1869, the Mutual divided the surplus each year among the members by an equal percentage upon the premiums paid by each, on the assumption that each policy produced a proportionate percentage of the surplus. The injustice of this to the older policy-holders becoming apparent, in 1869, the Contribution plan was adopted; a more intricate but more equitable method, used by this and other companies. This company was among the first to enter the then so-called western field of investments, and its first loan there was in 1853; the security was good, the rate of interest attractive, and the results so favorable that in 1881, the company decided to take on farm loans, in which it has invested since April 1, 1882, one hundred and six million dollars. It has also put millions into bonds of western cities and states, and the amount of delinquent interest has been merely nominal. In the early times, failure to pay premiums universally forfeited the policy, and in 1864, the Connecticut Mutual changed the form of its contracts so as to give members the full value of past premiums in paid-up insurance, when they found it inconvenient to continue to meet the annual premiums. In the years following the Civil War, an effort made by real estate speculative operators to use the funds of the Connecticut Mutual met a flat refusal by President Goodwin, and the conservatism of this company appears in a decision, in which it led the way among the companies to reckon on earning three per cent. instead of four on the assets. Though much criticized at the time, the good judgment of this move has been generally recognized, and this method has been widely adopted. The Connecticut Mutual also declined to adopt the Tontine principle, believing it to be speculative and depraved, a position which ushered the company into what has been called the "Thirty Years' Warfare,"

leading to a complete vindication of its policy. It has now about seventy thousand members, carrying two hundred and nine millions of insurance, and the accumulated funds amount to seventy millions. Its office building at the corner of Main and Pearl streets, Hartford, is of granite, and is one of the noblest structures in the state. Among the leaders of the Connecticut Mutual was James Goodwin, president of the company for thirty years until his death in 1878, a man of exceptional ability in conducting loans and investments. No abler man or more positive force for wise and honorable insurance has appeared in Connecticut than Colonel Jacob L. Greene, a distinguished soldier in the Civil War, who was president of the Connecticut Mutual Life Insurance Company for twenty-seven years; dying in office in 1905, he was succeeded by John M. Taylor.

The short lives of several companies are a part of the history of insurance, and one of this sad group is the American Mutual Life Insurance Company of New Haven, which was incorporated in 1847, with Professor Benjamin Silliman as president. The low rates and the fame of the president gave the company a brilliant start at first, but careless management involved it in difficulties. It began with the assumption that it could realize six per cent. on all the funds in the treasury, and it made on that basis contracts, which were liable to run fifty years. After a dismal experience it was merged in 1866, in the American National Life Insurance Company, with a capital stock of not less than one hundred thousand dollars. In 1871, the name was changed to the American National Life and Trust Company, and after a wretched career of folly and crime, the receiver closed the trust in 1893. The Connecticut Health Insurance Company, starting in 1848, was a premature attempt to take up risks which the Connecticut Mutual declined. It was well officered, and occupied the block it built for itself on Pearl Street, now owned and occupied by the State Bank. It tried the experiment of insuring negro

slaves and coolies by ship-loads, and though premiums were high, the most unprincipled masters took out policies; Cato, Jim, and Tom could not be identified, so the shippers had the advantage, and knowing the percentage of loss, arranged terms to suit themselves. The company ceased in 1857.

The Charter Oak Life Insurance Company began business in 1850, with brilliant expectations, under the leadership of its president, Gideon Welles, who soon resigned. Many of the agents were men of high character and wide influence, and by 1869, new insurance was issued to the amount of eighteen million dollars, but the home management was reckless, weak and wasteful; large sums were loaned to the Valley Railway, an expensive building erected at the corner of Main and Athenæum streets, and while vigorous efforts were made to resist dissolution, in 1885, it went into the hands of a receiver, and the policy-holders received less than twenty cents on a dollar. In the same class with the Charter Oak is the Continental, which was organized in 1864; after years of crookedness, in which the president and secretary played hide-and-seek with securities and commissions of investigation, in 1886, it passed into the hands of receivers, and is forgotten except by those who suffered from the perjury of its officers.

The Connecticut General Life Insurance Company was chartered in 1866, with a capital of half a million dollars, largely through the energy of Dr. Guy R. Phelps, with the idea of insuring men who could not pass an examination for regular insurance, and to charge them higher rates. The plan was not a success, and it was soon abandoned. From the date of the change the company has steadily grown, not seeking great size, but eager for careful risks and solid assets. The presidency of Thomas W. Russell, from 1876, to 1901, was eminently prosperous, and the long service of the first vice-president, P. Henry Woodward, deserves mention, as does his valuable work in sketching the early

history of insurance companies. The first offices of the Connecticut General were on Central Row, and now the home is in a commodious building on Pearl Street.

The Hartford Life and Annuity Insurance Company was chartered in 1866, as the Hartford Accident Insurance Company, with the privilege of insuring on the life plan. When it appeared shortly that accident insurance was unprofitable the name was changed to the present title, and in 1868, the accident feature was dropped. There were trying years, but in 1880, a form of natural premium insurance was adopted, combining low cost and security, requiring policy-holders to pay only for the actual mortality of the members, as it occurs in quarterly periods. Applicants pay a fee according to the amount of insurance, an annual fee for expenses, and a fee for the safety fund, maintained at one million dollars. It is the first insurance company in the country to do business on an assessment plan with ample security,—a plan which this company has found to be rational, safe, and profitable.

The year after its incorporation in 1819, the Ætna Fire Insurance Company obtained an amendment to its charter, authorizing it to grant annuities upon an additional capital. This privilege was never exercised, and in 1850, the Ætna Insurance Company Annuity Fund was organized with the same officers as the parent company. In 1853, it was decided that it would be best to separate the control of the two institutions, and the Ætna Life Insurance Company was launched, with E. A. Bulkley as president. For ten years the growth was slow, and the policies were written on the proprietary plan, but in 1861, it began to issue policies on the mutual plan also, giving applicants the choice between the two methods, and the development became more rapid, being conducted with caution and energy. This company was among the first to loan money to farmers in Illinois and Iowa; the rate was ten per cent., and there was seldom a default, since trained and careful agents were on

the field. It had similar success in its large investments in the bonds of prosperous western cities, bearing seven and three-tenths per cent. interest. In 1891, it opened an accident department, and six years later it had in force nearly eighty million dollars in accident insurance, with more than eighteen thousand policies. In sixty years, the company has passed from its home in a small room upstairs on State Street to the elegant building on Main Street. There was organized in 1907, a distinct company with a capital of half a million dollars owned by Ætna Life stockholders, a distinct company called the Ætna Accident and Liability Company, to cover property losses through accident, and it has been highly successful.

Following a temperance reform, there was organized, in 1851, the American Temperance Life Insurance Company, and on the strength of the belief that total abstainers live much longer than others, the founders of the company, meeting at the office of the *Fountain*, a leading temperance journal, and making Benjamin E. Hale, the editor of that paper, president, announced that the policies would be issued at about ten per cent. below current rates. There were difficulties from the question which arose in case of a death claim—whether the person had kept the pledge. After a time the order was put forth that with every proof of death there should be a special certificate declaring that the insured had not forgotten the abstinence provision in the application. After the temperance wave had passed, and the question of slavery had come to the front, in view of the fact that the company was not popular, it was decided in 1861, to abandon the temperance feature and by act of the legislature the name was changed to the Phœnix Mutual Life Insurance Company, and it soon sprang to fresh vigor. In 1889, permission was granted by the legislature to make the Phœnix purely mutual, and since that time the progress of the company has been rapid, so that it has reached a secure place among the solid institutions of the country.

In 1863, while passing through England, James G. Batterson became interested in casualty insurance, and was convinced that the system could be advantageously transplanted to the United States, and in May, 1863, he petitioned the legislature for an act of incorporation as a "railway passenger insurance company" under the name of the Travelers Insurance Company, to cover loss of life and personal injury while traveling by railway, steamboat, or any other mode of conveyance. The following year the charter was amended to permit the company to insure against all kinds of accidents, and James G. Batterson, a native of Bloomfield, was chosen president. The company began in the humblest way; the first office was on the second floor to save rent, and was furnished with two chairs and a second-hand pine desk set on a cheap table. For a time the officers did the work, staying late into the night to learn the principles of this new form of insurance, and after a time they indulged in the luxury of an office boy. The contagion started by the Travelers spread, and in 1865, and 1866, a swarm of competitors entered the field, and soon died. At the first meeting of the stockholders it was voted to increase the capital from two hundred thousand dollars to two hundred and fifty thousand. At the end of 1865, a stock dividend of twenty-five per cent. was ordered. Since then the company has grown to its present proportions, and its strength is symbolized by the massive building which houses it.

Another and a novel form of insurance successful in Connecticut is the Hartford Steam Boiler Inspection and Insurance Company, which was chartered in 1866, "for inspecting steam boilers, and for insuring against loss or damage to property arising from explosions or other accident in the use of steam boilers." J. M. Allen, who was born in Enfield, was chosen president, and the most rigid economy was practiced; for five years the company occupied a room eighteen feet square, but the work was thorough, a costly

and scientific study was made of boilers, and approved ways suggested to reduce disasters. A monthly journal, the *Locomotive*, was published, and distributed by the thousands. Boilers under its care are visited by experts, and the matter of riveting joints has been worked out scientifically. A chemical laboratory to analyze water and point out counter-agents to that which corrodes or produces scales is maintained, and the business has grown to the care of thousands of boilers, largely because the company prefers to go to heavy expense to prevent accident rather than to meet the cost of disaster. It is found that the annual explosions average about one one-hundredth of one per cent. of boilers insured.

Of late there has been a widening of the field of insurance to cover burglary, automobiles, plate glass, employers' liability, fly wheels, tornadoes, real estate titles and general liability; many of the best financiers are enlisted in promoting vast and powerful methods of conserving business, protecting the interests and increasing the welfare of the people. Every variety of policy that inventive minds can think of is offered to meet every taste and desire, and to provide against all possible dangers to property and life. The business of suretyship, generally classed as a branch of insurance, but sometimes regarded as having few elements of insurance in it, has been tried in Connecticut. The Ætna Indemnity Company, chartered in 1897, succumbed after a few years. The Ætna Accident and Liability Company has recently begun this kind of business, and is now entirely engaged in it. The assessment form of insurance, so common a quarter of a century ago, also prevailed to a considerable extent in the state. Most of the companies engaged in that form of insurance went into involuntary insolvency, and to-day there are none of Connecticut origin remaining and doing an active business here. The so-called industrial business, which is the insuring of the lives of those to whom the payment of large sums would be a hardship,

a business that calls for the payment of small sums every week or month, has also been tried in Connecticut, though with little success. The People's of Norwich was organized for this purpose, but it reinsured its risks about twenty years ago. The legislature granted a charter in 1911, to the First Reinsurance Company of Hartford, allowing the company to reinsure any kind of risk, life, fire, accident, or whatever it may be, a form of insurance entirely new to this country, though in vogue in Europe for years. The General Assembly of 1913, took action leading toward a completion of earlier laws to bring fraternal organizations under state supervision and to place them on a solid basis. The Compensation Act to secure to workingmen compensation in case of injury or death through accident was also passed in 1913, and arrangements made to determine the awards. Manifold and varied is insurance in Connecticut, which has grown to vast proportions, a system in which sagacity and benevolence combine to soften the ills of disaster and provide for the uncertain future.

CHAPTER XXXI

TRANSPORTATION

IT was a long step from the tiresome stage-coach and the weary haul over poor roads and up steep hills, to the fast trains; from the schooners and sloops that went creeping along rivers and Sound, to daily steamboats, tugs, and freighters; but the change came as factories rose, cities grew populous, and business urged. Connecticut was decidedly conservative in the introduction of railroads, and if John Fitch, whose invention of the art of applying steam to navigation, had been encouraged in his native state, he might have been spared his sad end, and steamboats might have been plying on the Connecticut River several years before the days of Fulton. There was much opposition to the new method of carrying people and freight, arising from various worries: farmers feared that horses would lose value, and hay and grain cease to sell; landlords shrank from bankruptcy; stage-drivers saw their stages in the scrap-heap and themselves in the poorhouse; owners of coasting vessels dreaded competition, and there was an uneasy feeling prevailing that the revenue which was left at the toll-gates of the turnpikes would fill the fat coffers of the railroad corporations. The Sound, the Thames, and the Connecticut were doing their best to meet the needs of the people, and in the year 1822, a business man who had an appointment in New York could leave Hartford for Saybrook on the steamboat *Experiment*, Captain Haskell, on Tuesday or

Friday, and return on the following day. But it was well known that the Erie Canal with its two hundred and sixty miles was open, and public-spirited men of New Haven determined to have a water communication with the interior.

The growing desire for an extensive waterway northward came to a practical plan on January 29, 1822, when there was a meeting of citizens of seventeen towns at Farmington. In May of that year, the Farmington Canal Company was chartered to construct a canal from the tidewaters of New Haven to Southwick, Massachusetts, to connect with the Hampden and Hampshire Canal in Massachusetts, and that was to be continued northward to the St. Lawrence River. This grand scheme was expected to rival the Erie Canal. Subscriptions came in slowly until the plan was formed of giving the Mechanics Bank of New Haven a charter, on condition that it would subscribe two hundred thousand dollars of stock of the Canal Company. On July 4, 1825, the ceremony of beginning the excavations took place in Granby in the presence of two or three thousand people. In 1828, the canal was complete from Southwick Ponds to Long Island Sound, and water was let in. There were great celebrations and large expectations, and for seven years there was considerable business done. In 1835, the canal was finished to the Connecticut River. The company did not own the boats, but allowed any one to use it on paying toll; this barely paid the ordinary expenses of the company, while the heavy debt and extensive damages to the canal in 1836, made it necessary that some measure of relief be found. It was decided that the New Haven and Northampton Company should be formed, and the stock of the Farmington Canal Company was relinquished. The new organization came into existence June 22, 1836, with a net capital of $120,184. About that time there appeared a rival more formidable even than the river. On December 3, 1838, the Hartford

and New Haven Railroad was opened from New Haven to Meriden, and the time over the eighteen miles was fifty-seven minutes. The canal did not cease its work at once; in 1841, it was extended to the upper parts of Vermont and New Hampshire. Boats were plying on the canal until 1845, when a heavy drought followed by a serious breach in the embankment so discouraged the stockholders that no further advances were made; in 1848, a railroad was opened from New Haven to Plainville, and the Farmington Canal became a thing of the past.

The people in the eastern part of the state, being largely interested in manufacturing, and learning from the experience of Massachusetts and Rhode Island that railroads would soon be indispensable, petitioned the legislature for the incorporation of a company to build a railroad from Norwich to New London, and also one from Norwich toward Boston. In May, 1832, a charter was granted to the Boston, Norwich, and New London Railroad Company, authorizing a capital stock of ten thousand shares. In 1836, this company was consolidated with the Norwich and Worcester Railroad Company; it was open for traffic between Norwich and New London on December 14, 1839, and with Worcester in the following March. At the same session of the legislature articles of incorporation were granted for a railroad, to begin at the western border line of the town of Sharon, to run northerly through Salisbury, to the northern boundary of the state. Privilege was also granted to make an extension in Berkshire County, Massachusetts, to intersect other railroads. A franchise was given to build a railroad from Stonington to the eastern boundary of the state, under the name of the New York and Stonington Railroad Company. In 1833, this road was consolidated with the New York, Providence and Boston Railroad Company. The road was open for traffic, November 10, 1837, connections being made with New York by steamers.

In 1835, the legislature granted articles of incorporation

Modern Steamboating on the River, "The Hartford Line"

for a road between Hartford and New Haven. The road was open from New Haven to Meriden in 1838, and in the next year to Hartford. Through passengers were carried from Hartford to Springfield by stage-coaches, there to connect with the Western Railroad for Boston. The decade 1840–50, known as the Railroad Era, gave a vigorous impetus to the industry, and in Connecticut the mileage rose from one hundred and seventeen to five hundred and fifty-one. On December 19, 1848, the New York and New Haven Railroad was opened to the public, thereby completing an all-rail connection between Boston and New York, and three trains were run daily between New Haven and New York. On July 22, 1852, trains began to run between New London and New Haven, and in 1858, from New London to Stonington, making a second continuous rail route from New York to Boston. It took the name of *Shore Line*. Charters were granted to several other companies to build roads in the era of railroad fever following 1840, until the state was well covered: Middletown and Berlin in 1844; the New Haven and Northampton in 1846; New London Northern in 1847; Valley Railroad in 1870; and the Boston and New York Air Line was completed from New Haven to Willimantic in 1873.

The railroad from Willimantic to Fishkill had a trying time from the year 1833, when the Assembly granted a charter to build a road from Hartford to Bolton, to 1881, when the road from Waterbury to Brewster was completed, and the same year to Fishkill on the Hudson. Failing to pay expenses, on December 31, 1883, it was placed in the hands of a receiver. The consolidation in 1872, of the New York and New Haven and the New Haven, Hartford, and Springfield companies, known as the Consolidated Road, created a corporation, absorbing nearly all the other roads of the state. The Hartford and Connecticut Western was opened to the public in 1871, and it has since been bought by the Consolidated Company.

In 1850, the General Assembly created a board of three commissioners to be known as Railroad Commissioners, whose duty it was to examine the railroads of the state twice a year or oftener, and they were authorized to require corporations to make repairs necessary for the safety of the public. The act was amended in 1853, and the duties of the Commissioners more fully specified; they were empowered to oblige the companies to use all safeguards to prevent injuries. Blanks were to be furnished the corporations, on which full statistics and returns were required. The officials were requested to notify the commissioners, within twenty-four hours, of all accidents attended with serious personal injuries. The commissioners make an annual report to the legislature, and in their report of 1855–56, not quite a quarter of a century from the time of the granting of the first railroad charter, they stated that the capital stock of the corporations operating in Connecticut was over twenty-three million dollars, of which over eighteen millions was paid in; that these companies operated seven hundred and seventy-two miles of road, of which five hundred and ninety was within the state; that the cost of construction and equipment had been over twenty-nine millions. The capital stock in 1913, was over one hundred millions, and there are more than a thousand miles of railroad in the state.

In 1907, an important *Commission on Public Service Corporations* was appointed by the legislature, and two years later it advised the appointment of a permanent Public Utilities Commission to be in session all the time: to grant franchises, supervise condemnation of land and capitalization of corporations, ascertain the facts concerning the financial and physical conditions, also the causes of accidents, to supervise their operation so far as affects the public safety and to establish rates, when existing rates are purely supervisory. In accordance with these recommendations, the legislature in 1911, appointed such an advisory commission.

With the immense increase of business and traffic in and across the state, it is not surprising that the railroads should come together into a vast system with connections by water and with neighboring states. The New York, New Haven, and Hartford Company controlled briefly a large part of the railroads of New England. It has acquired many electric roads, and is introducing electricity as a motive power on its main line. Grade crossings are being removed, steel cars introduced, the block system adopted, germs held up by hygienic drinking cups, palace and dining cars multiplied, and fast trains installed.

The street-car system is an interesting and important feature of transportation. On June 18, 1859, a charter was granted the Hartford and Wethersfield Horse Rail Road Company to lay tracks between the two places, and in the following year the Fair Haven and Westville Company was chartered to *gridiron* New Haven. Since then a large number of companies has been incorporated, of which the capital stock in 1912, was $62,670,100, bonds $19,217,000, taxes to the state $455,155. The change from horses to electricity as motive power began in the summer of 1895, with a company in Ansonia, and in September, a month later, the Hartford and Wethersfield line was equipped with the trolley. Express cars are run on some of the roads, also baggage and freight cars, to carry local freight, cracked stone for the highway and other uses, peaches, apples, and coal. It is found that, on the average, the entire population in the suburbs of the cities makes a trip to the local metropolis at least once a week. It is plain that Connecticut has traveled long since Levi Pease drove his "old and shackling" wagons on the Boston stage route.

CHAPTER XXXII

THE POOR LAW

ALMOST from the beginning, it became necessary for the authorities to take action concerning the care of paupers, semi-paupers, and vagrants, or, as they came to be known in later years, tramps; as the population increased, and the civilization became more complex, the problems multiplied, and the strain widened. In 1690, the Lords of the Plantation Committee of the English Privy Council asked from Connecticut a detailed statement of the condition of the colony; one question was: "What provision is there made . . . for relieving poor, decayed, and impotent persons?" The colonial government replied: "For the poor, it is ordered that they be relieved by the towns where they live, every town providing for its own poor; and so for impotent persons. There is seldom any relief because labor is dear, viz. two shillings and sometimes, two shillings sixpence a day for a day laborer, and provision cheap." This suggests the Connecticut system of relief for the poor—a town matter. In March, 1640, Hartford voted to set aside twenty acres on the east side of the river "for the accommodating of several poor men that the town shall think meet to accommodate there." This is the first trace we find in the colony of what afterward developed into the poor-farm, and soon after this New Haven took the first steps toward adopting two other methods which became prominent later. One was the partial relief of people

in their own homes. In 1645, the proposition was made to the court that "Sister Lampson should be provided for at the town's charge, so far forth as her husband is not able to do it." There is no statement of action by the town, but it may be inferred from the fact that action was taken, since three years later, she was in the home of the marshal. The other method was used in 1657, for the relief of persons, who, it was reported, had arrived in Southold after suffering many hardships. They had been relieved by the town, and the court ordered that five pounds be allowed toward their support, the sum to be paid by Southold, and deducted from the next town tax payable to the colony. This was the beginning of relief by the colony, through the towns.

It was thought necessary, almost from the start, to guard against imposition in the support of strangers. As early as February, 1636, the head of a family was forbidden to entertain any young man as a member of the family without permission from the inhabitants of the town. Neither could a young man, who was unmarried or without a servant, keep house by himself without permission, unless he was a public officer. Twenty shillings a week was the penalty for violating either provision. In 1673, the power to permit a householder to take boarders was vested in the selectmen. In 1639, Hartford voted that any one entertaining one "not admitted an inhabitant in the town above one month without leave from the town," was "to discharge the town of any cost or trouble that" might "come thereby, and be liable to be called in question for the same." Similar action was taken by New Haven in 1656. The head of the family was to "observe the course, carriage, and behavior, of every single person, whether he walk diligently in a constant lawful employment, attending both family duties and the public worship of God, and keeping good order day and night." The penalty for taking boarders, or boarding contrary to law, was a fine. The Assembly, in 1667, voted to prohibit entertainment of strangers, and

ordered that any person coming into a town and remaining there, after being warned to depart, was to be punished by a fine of twenty shillings a week, or either sitting in the stocks for an hour every week or receiving corporal punishment. The reason for the passage of this act was that "certain persons have thrust themselves into the several plantations to the unjust disturbance of the same." The purpose of these laws was to keep out undesirable elements and prevent the admission of those who were likely to become public charges. In the law of 1656, passed by the New Haven colony, no one was to entertain a stranger who came to settle or sojourn, or sell or lease to him any real estate, or to permit him to remain more than a month, without the written permission of a local magistrate, or a majority of the freemen, under penalty of ten pounds. Masters were required to provide for servants in illness, and if the illness was due to the fault of the master, he might be responsible for maintenance, or recompense for a longer time. Otherwise the plantation provided for the sick servant. It was also ordered that if any person, with or without license, should sojourn in a plantation for a whole year, he should be accounted an inhabitant there. This was the first law in Connecticut by which one could gain residence by a mere settlement, including the right to support without danger of removal. These laws of the New Haven colony were in force only until the union with Connecticut, but they embody principles which were adopted in substance in the united colony.

As early as 1650, the Court of magistrates was considered the authority to settle "all differences about the lawful settling and providing for poor persons," and also to dispose of "all unsettled persons, into such towns as they shall judge to be most fit for the maintenance and employment of such persons and families for the ease of the country." Another step forward was taken in 1673, when it was ordered that

every town shall maintain their own poor. If any person come to live in any town and be there received and entertained three months, if by sickness, lameness or the like, he comes to want of relief; he shall be provided for by that town, and shall be reputed their proper charge, unless within the said three months he has been warned by the constable, or by some one or more of the selectmen, not there to abide without leave first obtained from the town.

In 1682, another law was passed to head off people of "ungoverned conversation," who were thrusting themselves into the towns, often proving vicious and burdensome. It was ordered that no persons but "prentices under age or servants bought for hire" may reside in any township without permission from the justices of the peace and the selectmen, under penalty of twenty shillings a week. A fresh clause was added to the old law, providing that the vagrant or suspected person was to be "sent from constable to constable to the place from whence they come, unless they produce good certificate that they are persons of good behavior, and free from all engagements, and at liberty to remove themselves where they may best advantage themselves."

In 1690, a still more stringent law was passed, designed to prevent negro slaves from running away, but it was made to apply to "vagrant or suspected persons found wandering from town to town having no passes." Ferrymen were ordered to stop them and take them before the next justice, to examine and dispose of according to law. In the revision of 1702, these laws were brought together under the title, "Inhabitants, whom to be admitted."

1. Only those of an "honest conversation, accepted by the major part of the town."

2. No transients, except apprentices under age and servants bought for time, without approval of authority and selectmen.

3. A fine of twenty shillings a week for the use of the

poor of the town was to be paid by persons letting a house to or entertaining such people, unless security was given to save the town from expense.

4. Vagrants and suspects were to be sent from constable to constable to the place whence they came, and it was added that if they returned after warning and still remained in town, they should be "severely whipped, not exceeding ten stripes."

5. No single person might be entertained, save by permission of selectmen.

6. All boarders and sojourners in a family were to "carefully attend the worship of God in those families where they reside, and be subject to the domestic government of the same, upon penalty of forfeiting five shillings for every breach of this act."

The laws of 1702, provided for the care of unsettled persons who fell ill after a residence of three months. There were early tokens of the desire of the towns to force people to take care of their relatives. In 1651, on the application of the selectmen of Hartford, who complained that John Lord had "withdrawn himself from his wife and left her destitute of a bed to lodge on, and very bare in apparel, to the endangering of her health," it was voted that they "require of the said John Lord the wearing apparel of his wife, and also a bed for her to lodge on, and also to search after the same in any place within this jurisdiction, and to restore it unto her." Usually the colony allowed every town to enforce the duty of support upon its own inhabitants.

By the revision of 1702, in a chapter entitled *Poor*, the method of administration was prescribed. Selectmen or overseers of the poor were to relieve the poor so far as five pounds would extend; and if more were needed, they were to disburse more "for the supplying victuals, clothing, firewood, or any other thing necessary for their support or subsistence." The selectmen were called to strict account, and poor and idle persons were to be put to service. In

1711, a law was passed entitled *Sickness*, providing against the spread of contagious sickness, and directing that when any person was visited by sickness in any other town than that in which he belonged, and became a charge to such town, the selectmen were to lay the account before the County Court where the town was to which the person belonged, and the court was to call on the treasurer of the town for the money, in case the person, his parents, or masters could not pay it. In case the sick person was from a place outside the colony, the expense was borne by the treasury of Connecticut. Another method of relieving the poor was by exempting from taxation. Almost from the beginning, it was the custom to care for the old soldiers; in 1676, the Assembly ordered that all soldiers "wounded in the country service" should "have cure and diet on the country account, and half pay" till they were cured. A year later, the other half of their pay was voted. Other private bills granted land-exemption from taxation and medical expenses.

The revision of 1702, required the town officers to apprentice the children of paupers, if they were allowed by their parents "to live idly or misspend their time in loitering." The length of service was specified, "a man child until twenty-one years; and a woman child to the age of eighteen, or time of marriage." This method had been employed in England; giving the boys and girls home care, and if masters were cruel, there was provision for relief.

The most serious defect in those early laws was in the treatment of the vagrant, sending him back "from constable to constable," a method slightly superior to the present lack of all method in the treatment of tramps, but unscientific and unsatisfactory. The first law on this subject was passed in 1713. The preamble stated that "several persons, wanderers and others, have by their vile and profane discourse and actions proved a snare to youth especially, and tends to the great detriment of religion," therefore it was enacted that county jails should be houses of correction for

wanderers convicted before a justice. At the next County Court there was to be a trial, and the judge might order the offender "to be chastened by whipping on his or her naked back, in such jail, and to be kept to such labor as such offender is capable of." The term of imprisonment was unlimited, but only fifteen stripes might be given for one offence.

This did not diminish the evil, for we find that five years later another law was passed. This stated that "idle persons, vagabonds and sturdy beggars have been of late, and still are, much increasing within this government, and likely more to increase if timely remedy be not provided." They were to be adjudged rogues by any assistant or justice, and to "be stripped naked from the middle upward, and . . . openly whipped on the naked body, not exceeding the number of fifteen stripes." The magistrate was also to give a "testimonal of the punishment" with an order to forthwith depart the parish. Thereafter the culprit might receive a repetition of the penalty, if he remained in a town more than twenty-four hours after being warned to depart by a selectman. It would be interesting to know on what ground the wise law-makers expected that vagrants would be likely to keep and show that precious "testimonial." This measure soon proved ineffective, and in 1727, a thorough-going workhouse act was passed which provided that a house of correction be erected in Hartford, New Haven, or New London according to the liveliness of these towns to secure the boon. The County Court was to appoint "an honest, fit person to be master," with power to set at work, shackle, whip, and "abridge" the food in the interest of discipline. Four classes were candidates for this wholesome training: tramps (including fakers), petty offenders, stubborn children, and insane. Upon their entrance, unless the warrant otherwise directed, each person committed was to be put into a humble state of mind by receiving not more than ten stripes. It was expected that the workhouse

would be self-supporting, as two-thirds of the profits was to go to pay their expenses and to their families, and the other third to pay the salary and expenses of the overseer. It did not prove a financial success, and in 1757, two overseers were appointed with exacting conditions, such as a forfeit of not more than ten pounds for every prisoner who escaped. The revision of 1750, ordered every county to provide a house of correction, pending which, county jails were to be used as workhouses. In 1753, the County Courts were directed to erect houses of correction at once, though two counties were allowed to erect a single house; in October, 1753, the Assembly voted that no Court should act until a majority of the assistants and justices agreed to it, and decided on the location.

In 1769, it was voted that each County Court at its next session should appoint one or two overseers from the county town to procure materials for the workhouse at a cost of fifteen pounds. The law also empowered any assistant and justice, or two justices, to send to the workhouse, to keep at hard labor "all rogues, vagabonds, sturdy beggars and other lewd, idle, dissolute, profane and disorderly persons," that had no settlement in the colony. These laws were brought together in a revision in 1754, with few changes, making clear the fact that the beggar and poor inhabitant were two different people. To guard still further the towns against expense from the settlement of undesirable people, a law was passed in 1732, providing that if any one, without notice to the authorities, should entertain a stranger for forty-eight hours, he was chargeable with all subsequent expense in his behalf. The revision of 1732, lengthened the time for giving notice to four days, and limited the liability of the host to expenses incurred for a cause dating from the stranger's stay with him. The most important change permitted the civil authority and the selectmen, as well as the towns, to admit inhabitants possessing the necessary moral qualifications. An act of 1765, declared that a fine of ten

shillings a week for illegally hiring or entertaining strangers, or letting a house or land to them, should be payable to the town in which the offence was committed, and not to the town to which the offender belonged.

In 1770, a decided step forward was taken, when a distinction was made between inhabitants of Connecticut and those of other colonies, and four methods were given by which a transient could gain a settlement.

1. By vote of the inhabitants of the town.
2. By consent of the civil authority and the selectmen.
3. By being appointed to and executing some public office.
4. By possessing in his own right in fee a real estate of one hundred pounds in the town during his residence there.

Until settlement was acquired, a man might be removed to the place of his last legal settlement, if the selectmen feared that he was likely to become an expense to the town. Mere residence conferred no settlement. In moving from one town to another, a citizen secured before leaving a written certificate from the civil authority and the selectmen, which he lodged with the clerk of the new town. In the revision of 1784, a quasi-settlement was granted after a residence of three months in case of illness, and any citizen could arrest a vagrant wandering without a pass. It was also voted that a foreigner who seemed likely to become immoral or vicious could be removed from the state to his last settlement or to a place "in the jurisdiction of the nation." This law was repealed in 1789. It also forbade any person not a citizen of the United States to buy or hold lands without a special license from the Assembly, and this held until 1848. In the revision of 1750, there appeared a marked change in the method of relieving the poor; like the old law, it required the town of birth or settlement to care for one without relatives or estate, at the expense of the town of settlement. A clause was added: "Or if they belong to no town, or

place in the colony, then at the cost and charge of the colony." This was the first legislation providing relief by the colony. Connecticut occasionally paid the cost of transportation of paupers to their homes in England. The revision of 1750, also extended the power granted to selectmen in 1673, to bind out children of paupers and "any poor children that live idly, or are exposed to want and distress," if there was no one to care for them. This revision also allowed indeterminate sentence of vicious minors to the house of correction "under hard labor and severe punishment."

The revision of 1821, made necessary by the constitution of 1818, marks greater liberality; a six years' self-supporting residence in a town entitled a foreigner who had gained legal residence to support in case there was need, and a year's residence, coupled with ownership of real estate to the value of three hundred and thirty-four dollars, entitled to support. An inhabitant of Connecticut could gain residence in another town by vote of the town, consent of officials, or by holding office, as in the case of foreigners, and also by ownership of real estate worth three hundred and thirty-four dollars or by six years' residence, during which he supported himself and paid taxes. A town was responsible for relief of a stranger after a residence of three months, or before that time if warning had not been given, provided that he had been a self-supporting resident of another Connecticut town for six years. The importation of convicts, and the leaving of paupers in towns where they did not belong, were punishable by fine.

In 1785, the Assembly authorized Hartford to build "an almshouse for the support of the poor of the town," and levy taxes to erect, enlarge, and repair as may be needed. The selectmen were to appoint overseers for the same. In 1813, separate towns or any two towns were empowered to establish almshouses "for the admission of the town poor and destitute persons." Every town was still obliged to

support its needy inhabitants, "whether residing in it, or in any other town in the state," provided they were without estate or relatives able to relieve. The revision of 1821, made a town responsible for a former inhabitant who had lost his residence by living in another state, and on returning to Connecticut was in want.

After 1821, paupers might be removed to any place designated by the town or selectmen. There were three legal methods of relief: in one's own home, the almshouse or other place designated by the town, or by the contractor for the town poor. There is no record of an authorization of the contract system. It is simply referred to as existing. The selectmen were overseers of the poor. Before 1818, they were not required to care for needy residents who belonged elsewhere, unless they were ill. After 1818, if a person came to want away from the town where he resided, he with whom he resided was required to notify a selectman within five days, and "immediate and necessary support" was furnished, and information was given as soon as possible to the town where the person belonged. A fine of seven dollars was imposed on a neglectful selectman. No town was ever to pay for paupers at a greater rate than a dollar a week in lieu of all expenses. An act was passed in 1828, requiring selectmen, in case a pauper belonging to another town died, to give him a "decent burial," and recover from the town of settlement, the expense not exceeding six dollars. Selectmen were also to relieve all residents of six years' standing if in need. The state continued to support all paupers without settlement, but in 1820, it was voted that in no case should the state reimburse a town for the support of a pauper born in Connecticut, or in an adjoining state, or one who had been an inhabitant of a Connecticut town. The comptroller was empowered to contract with any person or persons for not more than five years, for the support of state paupers. Thus began the system of caring for the poor of the state by contract with the lowest bidder. After 1821,

selectmen constituted a board of health to prevent the spread of contagion. In 1826, a charter was granted to the General Hospital Society of Connecticut to maintain "a general hospital in the city of New Haven." It was to be a charitable institution, and patients belonging to the state were to be preferred. No appropriation was at that time made for it.

As early as 1785, authority was granted New Haven to establish a workhouse. In 1795, similar authority was granted Norwich, and before 1713, to seven other towns. The revision of 1821, authorized towns to erect workhouses, and made selectmen overseers. The master was not allowed to whip the inmates, but might put them in close confinement, or "in case of great obstinacy and perverseness reduce them to bread and water." The town made up the deficit in the expense of supporting the workhouse. Beggars, vagrants, fakers, prostitutes, drunkards, and those who failed to support their families were committed, and the sentences were limited to forty days. Stubborn and rebellious minors were also sentenced to the workhouse for not more than thirty days. The insane had been excluded in 1793. It was hard to obtain workhouse sentences for tramps, as the counties would not assume support, and only the larger towns were willing to act. The easiest course was to give a little assistance and pass the beggars on. A distinction was made in the revision of 1821, between paupers, who were to be cared for in almshouses, and beggars, more or less vicious, who were sent to the workhouse, while the mentally weak were to be placed under conservators, and spendthrifts under overseers.

In 1784, the system was a combination of state and town; in 1838, it was almost entirely a town system; the only aid given by the state was to strangers who were ill within the first three months of their residence in a town, and from that time until now there has been a steady increase in state aid, while the basis is still the town system. The date for the

beginning of the institutional period is 1838, though it began in a small way before. Many public and private institutions were chartered and two hundred general acts passed between 1838, and 1875, to regulate these and other conditions arising from the increasing population. In 1854, it was voted to grant two thousand dollars annually to the General Hospital Society of New Haven for its charity work. The same year the Hartford Hospital was incorporated, with an appropriation from the state of ten thousand dollars, and much more later on, as was also the case with the New Haven Hospital. In 1866, a new homeopathic hospital received aid from the state. In 1871, the Hartford dispensary was incorporated. New Haven followed in 1872.

From the close of the seventeenth century, dangerous lunatics were confined, but when it was learned in 1837, that there were four hundred and fifty pauper insane, measures were taken to provide for them at the Retreat at Hartford, but the number and expense increased so rapidly that in 1866, it was voted to establish a hospital for the insane. This was located at Middletown, and in the first year, of the two hundred and sixty-eight patients, only twenty-four were paying patients; one hundred and sixty-eight were paupers.

Many laws have been passed since 1875, relating to pauperism, but the changes have not been very marked; a person from another state or territory gains settlement by vote of the town or by consent of justices of the peace and selectmen after a year's residence, or by the possession of real estate to the value of three hundred and thirty-four dollars. An inhabitant of another Connecticut town gains a settlement by vote, or consent, or a four years' self-supporting residence. There were few restrictions in methods of poor relief in the revision of 1875; towns might support their poor in their own homes, in almshouses, or through contractors who cared for all the poor, for a lump sum or so much per capita. The statute of 1879, put restriction on

the contract system, requiring the selectmen to see that "good and sufficient food, clothing, comfortable lodgings, suitable care and medical attendance in sickness" be furnished. This law was repealed in 1883, and no restrictions were placed upon selectmen. In 1883, the State Board of Charities reported that three-quarters of the towns farmed out their poor to the lowest bidder. By 1886, the cruelties and sufferings possible under such a system led to an enactment which forbade all such contracts after January 1, 1887. After that time, towns were to support all paupers "in an almshouse or other place or places provided." Since 1901, neighboring towns may establish a union almshouse. In 1886, of the one hundred and sixty-seven towns in the state, sixty-two owned almshouses, thirty-four used almshouses by contract with private owners, and twenty-four of the latter paid the keeper a lump sum for the care of all paupers, except in some cases of tramps and insane. At least seven towns, owning almshouses, contracted with the keeper for a gross or weekly sum per head. Six towns for a time had a contract with the contractor at Tariffville, who has charge of the state paupers, under which town paupers were kept there. Contracts were supposed to go to the lowest bidder, who got all the work he could out of the inmates, and we can imagine the cruelty and privation endured when the contractor was mean. The report of the State Board of Charities for 1886, which brought out the facts, led to a prohibition of such contracts by the Assembly.

The number of almshouses in active operation in the state in 1910; was seventy-two, of which sixty-two were owned by the towns or cities in which they were situated, and ten were owned and managed by individuals. In the remainder of the one hundred and sixty-eight towns, needy persons were boarded in families or assisted in their own homes, except in the cases of six towns that boarded their poor at Tariffville, in violation of the law which provides that town poor shall be cared for in the town to which they

belong or in an adjoining town. The almshouse at Tariffville is often miscalled the State Almshouse, but the state has no share in its ownership and management. Under the state poor law of 1907, state paupers are boarded there, and the expense to the state is two dollars and seventy-five cents per week. Better accommodations befit the poor of such a state as Connecticut.

Some towns still receive prisoners under the workhouse law. A change for the better has come to pass in most almshouses during the past thirty years, but in a number there is a lack of classification and adequate facilities for decent comfort. Paupers in towns without almshouses are usually boarded in families, frequently in the outskirts, and with clothing and rooms sometimes poor beyond all description. The present system with its inheritance of many of the evils of a primitive age will some day give way to a district or county system, where classification, economy, separation of the worthy poor from idiots, imbeciles, and insane shall be maintained, under superintendents of skill and experience.

The so-called outdoor relief is a blot upon the state. It is difficult to get reports, but in 1888, it was reasonably certain that twenty thousand received such aid every year, one to thirty-five of the population, and there has been no radical change since then. Children are often brought up in the practice of going to the selectman for the weekly or monthly stipend for the family, and by the time they reach maturity have come to look upon the town treasury as the one natural and unfailing source of revenue. In 1884, Windham began to send all new and many old applicants to the almshouse, and nearly all found that they could support themselves. The cost of the almshouse support increased six hundred and seventy dollars, while the outdoor relief decreased over five thousand dollars.

The tramp question, which was a live wire at the opening of the eighteenth century, has not yet been solved in Con-

necticut. All sorts of expedients have been tried. At least forty thousand tramps and vagrants troop through the towns every year, and feed on the people. It is a mild statement to say that over half of them are under twenty-five, professional tramps, determined to live without work. Tests to learn what proportion are worthy to receive help lead to the conclusion that about one in twenty-five is worthy. As a result of careful investigation the General Assembly in 1875, passed two bills, one for county workhouses, and one regarding vagrants. Any one to whom a tramp applies may detain him until eleven on the following day to labor for aid received. Neglect to work, or injury to person or property, may lead to sentence in town or county workhouse, or to jail as a vagrant, for from thirty days to six months. This statute was repealed in 1886. The law now on the statute book was passed in 1879, and it states that "all transient persons who rove about from place to place begging, and all vagrants living without labor or visible means of support, who stroll over the country without lawful occasion," are tramps, and liable to confinement in prison for not more than a year. Officers may arrest without warrant.

The statutes authorize three kinds of workhouses. Towns singly, or in coöperation, may establish workhouses, counties may build them, and all county jails are workhouses. Selectmen are overseers of workhouses. The workhouse proposition has not appealed to Connecticut. The jail is the workhouse, the only one the towns and counties are willing to support. The elaborate and severe workhouse law has failed to reach the tramp evil because there are no workhouses, and with some of the jails crowded as they are, vagrants cannot be sent there, and the only place for them is the almshouse. There is no legal ground for this, and it is unfair to the worthy and unfortunate poor who are there. The Hartford committee on outdoor alms of 1890, found that prostitutes and other petty criminals

were sentenced by the police court to the almshouse under the workhouse law. The present methods increase the pauper class through illegitimate children, furnish a free hospital for regaining health after a debauch, subject the decent poor to the hardship of association with criminals and defectives, and feed and send tramps along to the next town.

The organization of the State Board of Charities in 1873, was an important event in the care of the dependent and delinquent classes, since it has a general supervision over the administration of the laws. A glance at the past reminds us of progress in the development of the poor laws. The act of 1682, provided for the return by local authorities of vagrants found within their towns. In 1713, the county jails were constituted houses of correction to which tramps might be sentenced. In 1727, the erection of a colony workhouse was ordered. In 1750, the counties were ordered to provide workhouses. In 1813, this power was granted to the towns, and in 1821, withdrawn from the counties. In 1841, it was enacted that jails might be fitted for use as workhouses, while in 1878, every jail was required to become a workhouse. In 1879, it was enacted that vagrants from outside of the state might be sent to prison. Far more success has attended the efforts to care for the sick, the insane, and the feeble-minded; children have a better chance; the blind, the deaf and dumb, and the incurables are no longer neglected. Wounded and disabled soldiers, and the children of soldiers, have been cared for.

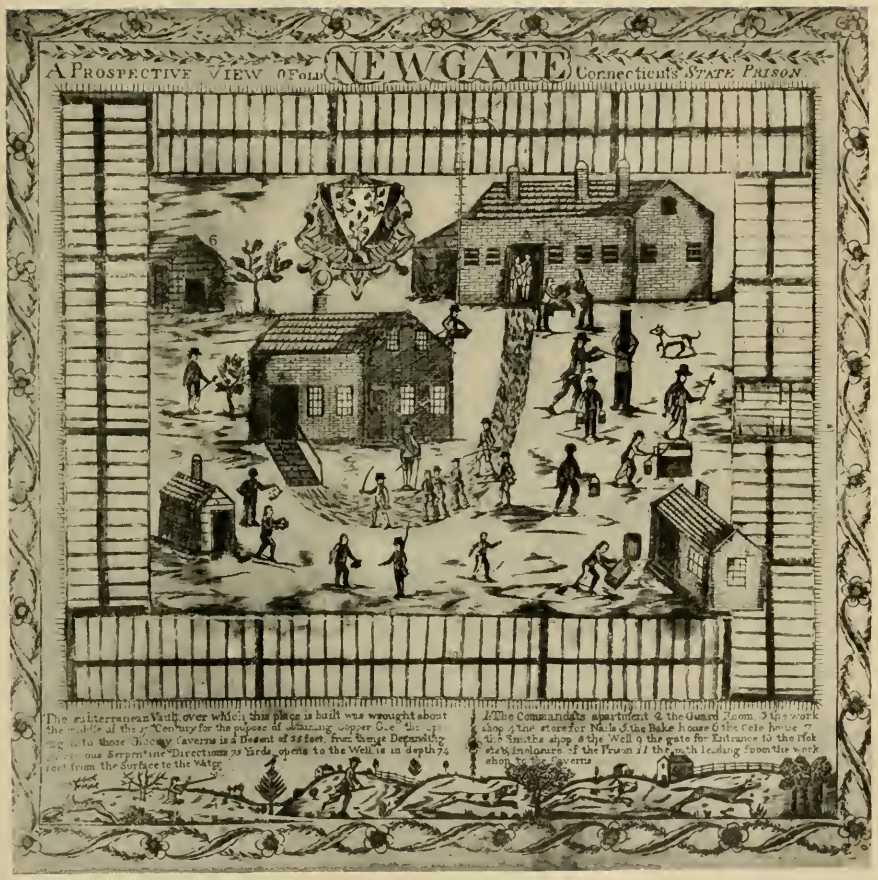
An orphan asylum was incorporated in 1813, in Hartford, and in 1833–34, societies were formed in New Haven, Fairfield, and Middletown for the care of boys and girls, and education in the common branches and training for an honest calling were to be given. The introduction of factories in 1813, and the employment of children in them made special legislation necessary, and proprietors were given duties similar to those of parents in the training of children under their charge.

The town system has had free play in Connecticut, and in the earlier years it worked fairly well, but with the coming in of manufactories there has been need of state activity, together with that of the county. Since 1837, the trend has been in the direction of action by the state in order that there may be specialized treatment of the different classes. Action by the town has been equally a failure in its treatment of the vagrant, of cases needing special attention, and in outdoor relief. There has been too much confusion of the pauper and the vagrant. Nothing has been done to reform the tramp, except to pass laws which were sometimes too mild, and at other times too severe to execute. Some of the state institutions, like the Hospital for the Insane, have been conducted with wisdom and success. Some private institutions, like the School for Imbeciles at Lakeville and the Industrial School for Girls at Middletown, have also been well managed, but of others, both public and private, less can be said. On the whole, there has been an earnest effort to grapple with a wide variety of difficult and perplexing conditions, and all the indications point toward greater activity on the part of the state in shaping laws and institutions to meet the special cases arising from a heterogeneous and complicated civic life.

CHAPTER XXXIII

PENAL AND REFORMATORY INSTITUTIONS

IN the development of the state from simple colonial conditions, there has been of course the question of the delinquent and the criminal to cope with at every stage and all the time; also the growing call for reform, as well as for the protection of society. In the later years, there has been an effort to place Connecticut in the class of the best thought of the age. Almost from the first, it was necessary to provide security against evil-doers, since the public records of 1640, say: "Forasmuch, as many stubborn and refractory Persons are often taken within these libertyes, and no meet place is yet prepared for the detayneing and keeping of such to their due and deserved punishment. It is ordered that there shall be a house of correction built of twenty-four foote long, and sixteen or eighteen broad, with a Cellar, either of wood or stowne." In 1649, it was voted to pay Will Rescew ten pounds a "yeare during the time he keepeth the charge of the howse of correction." In 1651, it was voted to pay Richard Goodman and John Pratt for necessary work about the prison house, which was under the charge of a keeper appointed by the assistants and justices until 1724, when it was entrusted to sheriffs. The first jail in Hartford was at the northeast corner of City Hall Square, not far from the site of the present post-office. In 1667, it was ordered that every county should have a jail, and in 1701, it was



A Rare Sketch of Newgate Prison

Only three copies of this interesting Old Engraving are known to exist. This view of Old Newgate Prison was taken from a copy owned by George S. Goddard, librarian of the Connecticut State Library

voted that four "sufficient prison-houses" should be constantly maintained in "this Colonie [one in each head town of the four counties] at cost and charge of each countie." The jail at Windham may be taken as a fair sample of the jails of that period. It was ordered in 1726, by the justices of Windham, that a "gaol be built with all possible expedition 31 feet long, 18 feet in breadth. The gaol to be 10 feet high, built of logs, all framed into posts, to be divided into two rooms by a board partition. The other end to be for the prison house, 6½ feet between joints."

The first common prison was in the copper mine at Newgate in Granby, fourteen miles north of Hartford, on the western slope of Talcott mountain. It was a cavern seventy feet below the surface. In October, 1773, a committee which had been appointed by the legislature reported that they had "prepared a well-finished lodging room" of about fifteen by twelve feet, and placed over the west shaft an iron door, at a cost of three hundred and seventy pounds, and an act was passed, "constituting the subterraneous caverns and buildings in the copper mines in Simsbury [it was then in Simsbury] a public gaol and workhouse for the use of the colony." Only three classes of prisoners were to be sent there: burglars, horse-stealers, and counterfeiters. The early fortunes of Newgate were discouraging for the public, as there were several escapes and three fires in the first nine years, for some buildings were erected about the shaft in which the prisoners made nails, and after 1820, shoes; cooperage was also a trade that was practiced there. In 1780, a military guard was stationed there, and in 1781, twenty-eight rose against the officers and escaped. It fell into ruin until 1790, when a "piquet fence" was built, and a new and stiffer discipline adopted, fetters being placed on the ankles, and in the shops a chain attached to a band around the neck was fastened to the beam above while prisoners worked. A room was made in the basement of the guard-house called the "jug," in which the better dis-

posed were kept, and others were imprisoned in the cavern at night, with straw for beds, and there under their blankets huddled novice and hardened criminal: caves reeking with filth; water trickling from the roof and oozing from the sides of the cavern.

In 1800, a two-story building was erected at the mouth of the mine, and the dimensions of the two rooms were twelve by twenty-one feet, with seven feet between joints, and for ventilation a window fourteen by twenty-one inches, also a small opening over the door. No comment is needed when one imagines what it must have been for fifty-two men to sleep in those close, stifling rooms. It is not strange that they begged for the privilege of going back to the mine seventy feet below. During the hot weather in July, 1825, thirty-two men were lodged in a basement, while the rest of the one hundred and nine were in other rooms, described in the report of the Prison Discipline Society of 1826, as follows: "These rooms were not only narrow and crowded, but filthy in the extreme; and the commissioners of the legislature in their recent report, state that 'vermin of various kinds abound in them.'" A visitor to Newgate in 1826, speaks of the prisoners as more filthy than any others he had seen except those in the Washington jail; that one would suppose that "the narrow space, the loathsome bedding, the vermin would take life." He gives the testimony of a man who had visited the prison, who said that several had changed for the worse more in one year than one would suppose a person could alter in ten years. This was due not only to the crowded quarters and the filth, but also to the treatment the men received from the officers. He could hear the beating of a convict, and "the manner, the instrument, the effect were all wrong." A deep-seated malignity was planted in the minds of the prisoners, some of whom were constantly in irons. In 1821, women were sent to Newgate, and the number of prisoners increased until 1827, when the number was one hundred and twenty-

seven. And it was expensive, for the total cost to the state of supporting the prison from 1790, to 1826, was over two hundred thousand dollars, and the number of prisoners was seldom over a hundred. From 1817, to 1819, the average expense was over twelve thousand dollars annually. If anything could be said in favor of the discipline of the prison, the heavy expense would not seem so serious, but it was impossible for the officers to prevent the prisoners from practicing vice. The report of the Prison Discipline Society for 1827, after speaking of the facilities for concealment of evil practices, adds:

> In the dungeons seventy feet under ground, formerly used as night rooms, some of the prisoners volunteered to return to them, as places of confinement at night, and assigned as the reason that they could there curse, swear and fight, and do other unutterable abominations, without having it known to any one. There probably has not been on earth a stronger emblem of the pit than the sleeping rooms of that prison, so filthy, so crowded, so inclined to evil, so unrestrained.

In September, 1827, the prisoners were transferred to Wethersfield, to the new prison, built "after the Auburn plan," having two hundred brick cells, three and a half by seven by seven feet, with a solid plank door, in which there was a grated opening of eight by ten inches, also an opening four inches square into a ventilating flue in the rear of every cell. In 1888, that block was replaced by another of three hundred and ninety-six brick cells, five by eight by seven feet nine inches, with grated doors, two feet eight inches wide. In 1896–98, a block of steel cells was built, and in 1889, the present graded system was introduced, which works as follows: On arrival, a prisoner enters the second grade and is clothed in a gray suit; nine credit marks may be earned each month in conduct, work, and mental advancement. Promotion to the first grade and the blue suit is conditioned upon his earning fifty out of a possible fifty-four marks within the next six

months. The loss of more than two marks in any month for violation of the rules, disorderly conduct, laziness or untidiness, reduces the prisoner to the third grade and the striped clothing, and similar misconduct in a first-grade man reduces him to second grade. First-grade prisoners are allowed to write one letter a week, receive visits from friends once in two weeks, also such letters and papers as the warden approves, with other privileges for good conduct. The second-grade men may receive visits from friends once a month, also such letters and papers as the warden shall approve. The third-grade men shall not purchase, or receive from friends, any article; nor shall they receive visits, papers or tobacco (except as provided by law), or letters, except on matters of the greatest importance, and then by permission of the warden, and they may draw one library book a week. Prisoners reduced to the third grade, by maintaining a perfect record for thirty days, are promoted to the middle grade. The loss of a mark will compel them to remain in the grade thirty days longer. Good time, to shorten sentences, is granted at the rate of sixty days per year for five years and after that ninety days per year. There are over six hundred prisoners, two and a half per cent. of whom are women. The contract system prevails for manufacture of shirts and shoes, and the earnings of the men for the year ending September 30, 1912, were seventy-eight thousand and seventy-five dollars, or one hundred and twenty-five dollars apiece for the six hundred and twenty-three prisoners. A school for the illiterate and a prayer meeting are maintained from October until May. Bible schools and preaching services for Catholics and Protestants are held every Sunday. A library furnishes valuable reading for the prisoners, to which the state appropriates annually five hundred dollars. A board of pardons, consisting of the governor, a judge of the Supreme Court of Errors, and four other persons, one of whom shall be a physician (the four to be appointed by the governor), holds

Convict Dining-Room at Meal Hour at Connecticut State Prison, Wethersfield

The Main Cavern. Newgate Cavern in which convicts were kept at night

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sessions in June and December, to grant commutations or releases. All members of said board must concur to make the judgment operative. The parole of prisoners under indeterminate sentence is at the discretion of a majority of the board of directors and the warden.

It would be interesting to trace the changes in the laws relating to crime from the beginning; we can only glance at a few taken almost at random. A favorite form of punishment was the stocks, the policy being to make the disgrace of the criminals as conspicuous as possible. By 1706, there was a statute which compelled every town to make and maintain a good pair of stocks, with lock and key, and selectmen were to provide this at their own expense, under penalty of ten shillings a week. Perjury called for a fine of sixty-seven dollars, and if the convicted man was unable to pay, he was to sit in the pillory one hour, and have both his ears nailed. An hour in the pillory was an approved method of training Indians to observe the Sabbath. In January, 1785, Moses Fiske was convicted of horse-stealing and was sentenced to sit on the wooden horse for half an hour, to receive fifteen stripes, pay a fine of ten pounds, be confined in jail or workhouse three months, and every Monday morning for the first month have ten stripes and ride the wooden horse. The wooden horse was in State House Square, and was a piece of timber, not too smooth, sustained by four legs.

An interesting glimpse into the court rooms was gained in our study of the witchcraft cases. The record of the County Court of New London in 1667 states that "Goodwife Willey for not attending public worship or bringing her children thither was fined five shillings." In 1670, John Lewis and Sarah Chapman were presented to the court by the grand jury for sitting together on the Lord's day under an apple-tree. After 1680, numerous cases appeared concerning "horse-coursers." It was the custom to pasture the horses at large, and it was easy to run them to wharf,

and ship them to Barbados. A law was passed in 1683, punishing horse-coursers with fines and lashes. Every town had its whipping-post and stocks, and as late as 1770, a culprit was sentenced to have his ear clipped. Breach of the Sabbath was considered more serious than "profane cursing and swairing," or even than the "sin of drunkenness," and the fine for Sabbath-breaking was ten shillings, and the penalty for young folks "playing at meeting" was three shillings. In 1721, it was ordered that a fine of forty shillings, and a term at the house of correction at the charges of the culprit in case the fine was not paid, should be imposed on those who should be guilty of any rude and unlawful behavior on the Lord's day, such as "clamorous discourse, or by shouting, hollowing, screaming, running, riding, singing, dancing, jumping, winding horns and the like in any houses or place so near to any publick meetinghouse for divine worship, that those who went there may be disturbed." A law was passed in 1735, which was not long in force, that persons who were fined, and should refuse to pay, should be sold for so long a time as the court saw fit.

The laws of 1642, made the following offenses punishable by death: idolatry, witchcraft, blasphemy, murder, bestiality, adultery, rape, kidnapping, and false witnessing. These nine offenses were increased later to fifteen, including such crimes as rebellion against parents, burglary and theft for the third indictment. Drunkenness was punished with a fine of twenty shillings, and the keeper of the house where the drink was obtained was to pay a fine of ten shillings. In 1735, a law was passed which declared that a person who was convicted of burglary, on the first offense should be branded with a "B" on the forehead, the right ear was to be nailed to a board and cut off, and ten stripes were to be inflicted. For the second offense, another "B" was to be branded, the other ear cut off, and twenty-five stripes given, and the penalty for the third offense was death. In 1751, a law was passed that for the theft of

anything under ten shillings, a justice of the peace could impose a penalty of ten stripes, and a fine of no more than four pounds, and for the theft of more than ten shillings, the prisoner was to be bound over to the County Court, where the penalty was not over thirty-nine stripes and costs, and no appeal. For the second offense the prisoner was to be whipped, branded with a "T" on the forehead, and the right ear cut off, while for the third offense the penalty was death. The record shows that there were many who were tried for defamation, bestiality, blasphemy, idleness, and lying. The question so often asked as to the relative prevalence of crimes in the early days as compared with the present time is difficult to answer, because the laws required that penalties be imposed for conduct now regarded as innocent and even beautiful. On November 27, 1710, the clerk of the court ordered the constables to arrest two young men and the same number of young women, and bring them before the County Court because of a breach of the law in the month of August preceding; their crime was the unseasonable walking abroad in the evening after the Sabbath. The same year, a fine was imposed upon a woman for sending flowers on the evening after the Sabbath. In 1710, Paul and Elizabeth Peck testified that Joseph Shepard came to their house on the evening after the Sabbath to inform them of the welfare of their son and daughter in Milford—a crime that must not go unpunished.

Ministers were on the watch for evil-doers, and they used strong language to describe their misdeeds; in 1667, Rev. Mr. Stowe of Middletown accused several men of "blasphemy, drunkenness and abominable wickedness." It appears that the "abominable wickedness" was the sin of saying that "no man can get to heaven whose conscience does not convict him of lying."

Penalties were sometimes mitigated in response to cries for mercy. In 1723, a man was sentenced to branding and costs, because he broke into jail. He confessed his guilt

"for so horrid a crime against wholesome laws, and high-handed rebellion against his maker"; he begged for mercy to save from branding. The penalty was changed to a fine of ten pounds. The gallows was often used for other purposes than hanging. In 1777, two people were convicted of incest, and the penalty was to "set on the gallows with ropes around their necks" for a while, to receive twenty stripes, and to wear upon their clothing in open view as long as they lived the letter "I," under penalty of fifteen stripes for every omission. In 1829, the following crimes were punishable with death in Connecticut: treason, murder, perjury with intent to take life, arson causing death or endangering the life of any one, burning a building other than a dwelling house and causing death, cutting out the tongue or putting out an eye with malice, and rape. Kidnapping was punishable with a fine of four hundred dollars; sodomy and bestiality, state prison for life; fornication, a fine of seven dollars and a jail sentence of a month; disinterment of bodies of the dead called for a penalty of imprisonment for life for the third offense. From the beginning of the Wethersfield prison, there was a rising sentiment against the placing of women in the same prison with men unless they were in a separate apartment. A letter of the chaplain, dated Wethersfield, May 7, 1831, says:

> I suppose the female department here is the best arranged of any in the world. Formerly, when they were all in one room, the noise which they made might be heard at a distance, and hair torn from each other's heads might be seen strewed about the floor. Now they are lodged in separate cells; they more than support themselves by their labor, and are much changed for the better in outward appearance.

Imprisonment for debt was largely practiced, and until 1826, women were liable as well as men. In 1830, a Hartford man was imprisoned from January to September for

a debt of two dollars and thirty-one cents, and he was then discharged on taking the poor debtor's oath. A Simsbury man was committed for a debt of seventy-five cents, and a month later he was discharged on oath. A Windsor man was imprisoned thirty-five days for a debt of thirty-eight cents. The whole number imprisoned for debt in Hartford County in 1830, was one hundred and forty-two—sixty-six for sums under ten dollars. If the proportion in Hartford County held good for the rest of the state, there were three hundred and sixty-four cases of imprisonment for debts under ten dollars, or more than one-third of the number imprisoned for debt. A pitiful case is on record of a man who was locked up for a debt of four dollars and seventy-five cents. He was old and sick, unable to earn money for eleven weeks, and just as he was getting better he was arrested. His wife, who went to the jail with a young daughter to see him, said they had paid a dollar on the rent. The sick man had no bed in the jail, and the jailer said he would let him go under the bread act in a few days, if the rent was not paid.

In 1831, a chaplain was employed at the prison, and he not only sought to benefit the prisoners with moral and religious instruction, but also by teaching them the rudiments of the English language, as most of the prisoners were ignorant. In 1835, one-half could not write, and thirty-seven out of two hundred could not read. A hymn was composed for the women prisoners to sing before evening prayers, in which was the following stanza—a comforting message, and one likely to lead to pleasant dreams.

"The way of wickedness is hard;
Its bitter fruits we know;
Shame in this world is its reward,
And in the future, *wo*."

There was a movement as early as 1830, in behalf of the youthful offenders. The governor introduced the subject

in his message, and some of the women in Hartford and Fairfield counties sought in the poorhouses for children needing care. In 1834, the chaplain at Wethersfield reported that a boy of eleven years had been committed to the prison, and he asked if the legislature would not do well to provide a different place for such offenders. Public opinion increased in momentum until 1850, when a petition was presented to the General Assembly, asking that the necessary steps be taken to establish and maintain a house of reformation for juvenile offenders. In 1851, a favorable report was made and it was voted to establish a state reform school, with the provision that ten thousand dollars be paid from the state treasury when a similar amount was paid in for the purpose by people of the state. A prompt response was made, and among the contributors were Theodore D. Woolsey and William A. Buckingham. In 1852, a site of thirty-one acres was purchased in Meriden. In February, 1854, notice was given that on March 1, the school would open. On March 31, 1855, one hundred and fifty boys had been committed. Previous to 1850, there were in the United States only three or four similar schools; children who had committed offenses against the law were sent to jail with older and hardened prisoners. The commitments were for a definite term, including an alternate sentence to the jail, prison or workhouse. The popular idea through the state was that the school was a place for punishment, where culprits were confined to protect the public. The building gave that impression with its grated windows and cell-like rooms, in which the boys were locked at night. In the period between 1880, and 1890, notable changes were made, as five cottages with accommodations for fifty boys each were erected, and an amendment to the law committing boys to the school was passed, doing away with the definite sentence, and substituting the indeterminate form that boys might be held at the school until twenty-one years of age, unless sooner reformed.

In 1891, the name was changed to the Connecticut School for Boys, but the name, worn for forty years, could not be easily shaken off, and the school continues to be called the *State Reform School.*

Since 1899, the governor has appointed biennially an agent for the school, to investigate the homes of boys before parole, secure homes and employment for those whose homes are not suitable for their return to them, and by visits as often as once in six months, obtain reliable information as to the conduct of boys on parole. In 1900, a thorough system of manual training, combining sloyd, cabinetwork, and wood-turning, was introduced. In 1902, forging was added, including the hardening, tempering, and finishing of steel tools. The boys are under sixteen when committed, and in 1903, the law was amended so that no boy under ten years should be committed, except under conviction of an offense for which the punishment is confinement in state prison or a county jail. The government and control of the school are in a board of twelve trustees, one from each county, and four from the vicinity of the school. The support is from the state; the cost at present is three dollars per week. The cottage system gives a homelike tone to the school, and provides for greater freedom in the management of the boys. There is a system of grading, which appeals to the ambition of the boys, and it is possible for a boy so carefully to observe the rules that he can secure his *Honor Badge* in eleven months, and thus become entitled to leave the school, if the authorities concur, and a desirable home is secured for him. There is a carefully developed system of parole and parole supervision, and when homes are found for the boys, their guardians are urged to coöperate with the school authorities. Boys in the cottages attend school for three and a half hours daily, and the larger boys in the main part of the institution have a session of school three hours long. The schools are graded and a fair education is offered. The manual training furnishes instruction to one

hundred and sixty-eight different boys. The terms are five months long. Mechanical drawing has a part in the training, and while the trades are not taught, it is the design of the training to teach the underlying principles of many trades. The boys make and mend their own shoes; print their paper; mend the clothes; raise large quantities of vegetables; seat chairs and have learned to operate a knitting machine. The trustees report that from 1854, to 1910, nearly eight thousand boys have been committed to the school, and of this number more than eighty per cent. who have been graduated, have taken their places as respectable and self-respecting citizens. There were in the school, September 30, 1910, four hundred and thirty-four boys, and the average time spent in the school by the boys released was two years and three months. There are those who take a less rosy view of the school, and some careful students of the subject are of the opinion that a larger number of officers, which would make possible a closer supervision, would increase the efficiency of the institution. However that may be, it is unquestionably accomplishing a valuable service for the state.

Similar to this, though under an entirely different kind of management, is the Industrial School for Girls at Middletown. This school is a private institution with a self-perpetuating board of directors, though the governor, lieutenant-governor and secretary of state are directors *ex officio*. It was about the year 1867, that the need of a home for the girls of the state, who were in danger of drifting into vice for lack of proper home influences, impressed itself upon the minds of some kind-hearted people, who under the lead of Rev. T. K. Fessenden secured a charter, raised a large sum of money, bought a large farm in Middletown, and established a home. It was the intention of the founders to establish a state institution, but after considering the matter, they saw the wisdom of having a private school, and receiving from the state three and a half dollars a week for care of each of the girls. It was consequently founded on that

plan and the school accommodates two hundred and eighty inmates. The statement reads: "The proper subjects are not *merely* paupers, nor orphans, nor confirmed thieves, nor prostitutes, nor other criminals, but *viciously inclined girls between the ages of eight and sixteen years.*" The class includes: the stubborn and unruly; truants, vagrants and beggars; those found in circumstances of manifest danger of falling into habits of vice; those who have committed any offense punishable by fine or imprisonment or both, other than imprisonment for life. Its design is not to have another prison, but a home for training and instruction; to give children the physical, mental, moral, social, and industrial development needed, and as soon as this task is accomplished, and they can be placed in suitable surroundings, they are to graduate from the school. The form of committal is by a civil, and not a criminal process. Complaint may be brought by parents or officers of a town, city or borough, to a judge of probate, or of a police court, or to a justice of the peace in the town where the girl is found, who can commit to the school until the age of twenty-one, unless discharged earlier. The home is splendidly placed on a farm with a fine prospect. There are eight family houses, and a school building with four rooms, where the girls have opportunity for a good education. They make their clothes, and are taught the art of cutting and making dresses under the direction of an expert dressmaker. They are also trained in cooking and housekeeping. There is a beautiful chapel in which is a fine organ, which was given by the women of the state. The girls seem happy, and while much of the good accomplished cannot be given by figures, it is reported by the authorities that about ninety per cent. of those who graduate lead good lives.

For many years there has been a growing sentiment in the state that there should be an institution for young men who have committed offenses, but cannot find in the jails and the Wethersfield prison the influences and training best

calculated to develop them for useful lives. This sentiment found expression in an act passed by the General Assembly in 1909, whereby the sum of four hundred thousand dollars was appropriated for the building of the Connecticut State Reformatory, and it was enacted that there should be five directors, appointed by the governor, with the advice of the senate, to purchase a site and erect buildings, and they were also to elect a superintendent to manage the institution under the rules of the directors. Those who are to be sent to the reformatory are male persons, between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five, convicted for the first time of offenses punishable in the state prison for a shorter period than life. Those between sixteen and twenty-one in this class *must* be sent to the reformatory; those between the ages of twenty-one and twenty-five may be so committed, if they seem amenable to reformatory methods. The judge imposing a reformatory sentence on offenders of this class shall not fix the term unless it exceeds five years. The second class is of persons between sixteen and twenty-five never before convicted of an offense punishable with a prison sentence, who are convicted of an offense which may be punished by a maximum imprisonment of one year in jail. Commitment of these offenders to the reformatory for an indeterminate sentence of not more than three years shall be at the discretion of the court. The third class is of persons of ages as above, never convicted of an offense liable to a prison sentence, who are convicted of an offense which may be punished by a maximum imprisonment in jail of less than a year, but not less than six months; these may be committed to the reformatory, at the discretion of the court, for an indefinite term of not more than two years.

Inmates of the Connecticut School for Boys between the ages of fourteen and twenty-one, whom the trustees of the school desire to have transferred to the reformatory, and whom the directors of the reformatory are willing to receive, may also be committed, to be detained for the time they

could be held at the school. Any inmate of the reformatory, who has been confined there for not less than a year, may be paroled at the discretion of a majority of the board of directors and the superintendent, to remain in legal custody of the board of parole until his sentence expires. Inmates who persistently refuse to obey the rules may be transferred to the jail of the county whence sentenced, or to prison.

The directors bought at a cost of about thirty-six thousand dollars, four hundred and seventy acres in the northern part of Cheshire in a sightly and beautiful place, amid attractive scenery and in healthful surroundings. There are to be shops for the learning of trades, and facilities for the uplift of the inmates, and the capacity when completed will be a thousand men. Within the proposed scheme of the reformatory is the plan of a dormitory department, to which the men are to graduate from the block of steel cells. In that department several men of kindred tastes and development, men, for example, who are interested in electrical engineering, who have proved themselves reliable, will be allowed to room together, and not only enjoy conversation together, but will be able to help one another in many ways. Infraction of rules, or breach of confidence, will send men back to the steel cells for a season. The object and methods of the institution will be such as shall foster hope, encourage self-respect, and train for self-support and usefulness as citizens. The reformatory opened on June 24, 1913, with accommodations for four hundred men, with Albert Garvin superintendent.

There is also an association to befriend discharged prisoners, and aid in the repression of crime, which was organized March 9, 1875, called *The Prisoners' Friends Corporation*, and December 8, 1876, a reorganization was effected under the name of *The Connecticut Prison Association*. It aims to help reform criminals, assist prisoners toward industry and self-respect, promote reformatory systems of prison management, and coöperate in the prevention and

repression of crime. A committee visits the prison every month to talk with the prisoners about to be released, offers assistance, and advises concerning plans. On the morning of the discharge, an agent of the association meets the prisoner at the prison, goes with him to Hartford, and carries out the plans most likely to benefit him. Necessary clothing is provided in addition to the suit given on his discharge, transportation home, and five dollars to pay the first week's board. This association has supervision over the probation service of the state, providing blanks for reports and books for record; and every probation officer reports quarterly to the prison association. The probation law was enacted in 1903, and it provides that judges shall appoint probation officers in different parts of the state to act under the direction of the court that appoints them. Their duties are to investigate the cases to appear before the court, report at the trials, preserve records of investigations, take charge of all persons placed on probation, and require of them reports of conduct. Every person placed in charge of a probation officer is the ward of the officer. There are few other laws for the benefit of those in danger of going utterly wrong that have been more valuable in their working than the probation law.

A very important element in the penal and reformatory system of the state is the county jails. These are used for the safe-keeping of persons awaiting trial, and for the detention of those who have been adjudged guilty of crimes less serious than those requiring sentences to the state prison. They are havens of rest and refreshment for persons poisoned, delirious and woebegone through rum. They are fairly comfortable winter homes for lazy or discouraged men, for vagrants who tire of stormy wanderings and the densely populated town lockups. "Thirty days in jail and costs," is a mild sedative for the frisky spirits of a young fellow, who is not bad, only a little careless, sometimes reckless, through lack of home training and evil associates.

Good people are wont to express the pious wish that the "medicine" will do the patient "a lot of good." The jails are under the care of sheriffs elected for short terms. The iniquitous fee system has in the main gone by, but the salary in some counties is large enough to be a rich prize to those who seek the position. If political skill and popularity were qualifications for dealing with the variegated assortment of youthful offenders, tramps, "bound-overs," drunken rounders, and seasoned criminals, then the jail system is ideal in its management. If the allurement to help the men toward reform and reduce crime could compete with the temptation to make a good financial showing, the situation might be relieved. As to the places of confinement, they are retarded evolutions of the jails which began in the little germ at Hartford in 1640, "built twenty-four foote long, and sixteen or eighteen broad, with a Celler, either of wood or stowne." They are parts of a plant whose most gaudy blossom was Newgate. They are on about the same level as the other jails of the country, of which the American Prison Association in 1907, through a committee, which had made an investigation of the county jails of different states, with the coöperation of the Charities and Commons, said, "If the only, or chief purpose of the jails were to keep wild beasts in cages, most of them are well enough adapted to the purpose."

During the year ending September 30, 1911, ten thousand nine hundred and sixty persons were sentenced to these jails. The average jail population through the year was one thousand and seventy-one, and the average term of commitment was thirty-six days. Though the jails are in charge of sheriffs who are responsible to the county commissioners, the state helps in the financial support, and during the year ending September 30, 1911, Connecticut paid for the board of prisoners in the jails over one hundred and twenty-six thousand dollars. During the year 1910, the state gave toward the support of the prison, twenty-one

thousand five hundred dollars. The average population in the prison during this period was six hundred and four, making the average expense to the state of each inmate, less than thirty-six dollars. During 1911, the average expense for each inmate in the county jails was one hundred and eighteen dollars. It should be remembered that the convicts in state prison are committed for much longer terms, and that their labor is worth more than that of short-term inmates of the jails. During the year ending September 30, 1911, the total receipts from the labor of prisoners in jails was twenty-four thousand one hundred and forty-two dollars, an average of twenty-two dollars and fifty-four cents a year, or about seven cents a day for every prisoner. The year 1909, gives a little better showing—a little over nine cents a day apiece. In the prison, for the year ending September 30, 1912, the population was six hundred and twenty-three, and the earnings were seventy-eight thousand and seventy-five dollars, or one hundred and twenty-five dollars apiece. Of the eleven thousand six hundred and fourteen persons sentenced to the jails during the year ending September 30, 1910, six thousand and fifty had been in jail before, and of the ten thousand nine hundred and sixty persons sent to the county jails in the year ending September 30, 1911, four thousand five hundred and ninety-four were committed for drunkenness, three thousand seven hundred and twenty-four for breach of the peace, larceny, vagrancy, and trespass. These and the others committed to await trial and for other reasons are not classified, separated, and supervised with a view to reform, except that the ugliest are kept in cages, the bound-overs are confined in their cells, and the rest polish leather, make chairs, brooms, artificial stone, and other articles. In some jails, there is no open court where the bound-overs can exercise under the sky; in one large jail these men, who are not to be considered as guilty until so proved, and who are sometimes compelled to stay in confinement three and even four

months, are taken from their cells for exercise only twice a week, when they walk in a dismal hallway. In another large jail, this class of prisoners is solaced by permission to visit one another; and one can see two men locked up together through the day, an evidence of the sheriff's desire to be kind, even at the risk of private instruction in vice and crime. Women in the jails are together much of the time, and in one large jail, from the time the shops close on Saturday noon until Monday morning the men are allowed to herd together in sections, not according to degrees of guilt, or likelihood of amendment, but according to location in the stacks of cells; a dozen men or so have the freedom of a corridor perhaps ten by thirty feet. Care is taken that men of the same gang are confined in different tiers, but there the young offender and toughened reprobate are together, with all the opportunity for theft, vile stories, and quarrels. This is a shade better than the custom in the Hartford jail in 1835, when prisoners were put into cells in groups of five.

An observer, who has seen convicts in the prison sitting at a broad table conversing in a self-respecting way with friends opposite, is depressed by the spectacle of jail prisoners standing talking at a grating of so fine a mesh that a corpulent fly could not crawl through. The reason for the precaution is that nothing might be passed to the prisoner, but the inmates of the prison are more likely to be desperate men than the inmates of jails, and there the supervision of officers is a sufficient safeguard. The contract system is not so bad as it was a few years ago, when overseers of the company buying the labor were allowed to punish the men according to their judgment or caprice. The custom still prevails in some of the jails of handing the prisoners over to the agents of the company, only requiring that bonds be given to return them in undiminished numbers at noon and night. There is no officer of the jail in attendance, and the only object the contracting company has

in view is to get all the work possible out of the men. As to cleanliness, there is considerable diversity in this very difficult matter, according to the judgment and vigilance of sheriffs and jailers, the age and appliances of the buildings, and the number and intelligence of the officers allowed by the commissioners to watch out against the ever-present vermin. In the most perfectly equipped modern jails and prisons it is next to impossible to keep down the creeping population which delights to infest the denizens of misery and crime. There is in some jails of the state a more exacting and successful hostility to these offensive parasites than in others. It is unfortunate that the county jails should have to serve the double purpose of places of detention for sentenced men and the safe-keeping of those awaiting trial.

No advance in the methods of treating drunkards has been made since 1650, when fines and stocks, with imprisonment until reformation for obstinate cases, were the penalties. The ridiculous police court system of small fine and short jail sentence, handed thoughtlessly down, is as absurd a method as could be imagined for a crime which is largely a disease. The "Dean of all the drunkards," in the New Haven jail, illustrates the folly of the system. This man entered the jail about the year 1878, and most of the time since then he has spent in the same cell in a course of about two hundred sentences. Hartford has a rounder who has spent the greater part of thirty-three years in jail. It is estimated that the state is spending upwards of a million dollars a year in this irrational and ineffective business. There are men and women who have spent most of the past twenty years in the jails, under sentences varying from thirty to one hundred and eighty days. When not returned within a week or two of dismissal, the jailer begins to wonder why the familiar guest does not appear. There is no pretense or expectation that the costly trials and imprisonments will do the man any good; one institution in the state with a large farm and proper medical care for this class of diseased

men, together with indeterminate sentences, would promise something valuable. Then there are the youthful offenders, who need discipline, counsel, encouragement, and wise treatment; who might well summon the ghosts of John Howard and Elizabeth Fry to rid them of the "trusties," to secure books and light, and to help them to their feet.

To relieve the gloom of this chapter, and present a hopeful method of work, it is a pleasure to notice the George Junior Republic, in Litchfield. There upon a farm of one hundred and fifty acres, the homestead of Mrs. Mary T. Buell, and given by her for the uses of the Republic, is an institution for boys who are disposed to be wayward, and who are difficult to manage. The boys must have reached the age of fourteen and be sound in mind and body. It is not intended to receive boys who are confirmed in viciousness, but upon application by parents and by commitment by the courts, boys are taken and formed into a small commonwealth, under an efficient superintendent, a housekeeper and teachers. The school furnishes a good common school training, and for more advanced studies some boys attend the High School, which is two and a half miles away. The motto of the institution is *Nothing without Labor*, and every boy is expected to earn that which he enjoys or consumes. The hours of work are from half-past seven until twelve, and school follows, from one until five. In return, every boy receives a definite wage paid him in the scrip of the Republic, and with this he must pay for his food and lodging. Regular accounts are kept for every boy, and at the weekly reckoning, he must show a bank account of a certain standard; otherwise he becomes a pauper and undergoes certain penalties. These operate to bring him back to his work when he resumes his place in the social order. The sources of employment are chiefly the farm and the school, and a workshop will soon furnish opportunity for carpentry and forge work. The system of self-government throws a varying weight of responsibility on every boy, which tends

to develop manhood. He passes through the grades of official position—clerk of court, state's attorney, chief of police, vice-president, and president; he learns that government is not outside himself, to be tricked and thwarted, but that he is a part of a necessary system of control, and that his own well-being is wrapped up in that of the government. The community system develops a spirit of patriotism, and when a boy reaches the time to leave the Republic, he usually does so trained in the principles of self-government, and prepared to enter on the larger responsibilities of good citizenship. The school opened in April, 1904, and it will soon be able to accommodate forty boys. It is dependent upon the public for much of the money needed, since the parents and guardians of many of the boys are poor. One of the marked features of the George Junior Republic is the loyalty it develops, and the boys come to love and take pride in the system of government of which they form active parts.

Of late there has been a strong trend toward prevention of crime and reform of criminals, and there is a widespread hope that the agitations now going on, and measures which are forming, will lead to a more rational treatment of incipient criminals. The probation law and the new reformatory are signs of progress.

CHAPTER XXXIV

PHILANTHROPIC INSTITUTIONS

OUR narratives, tracing the development of religion, penal institutions, and laws to check crime, have prepared us for an elaborate chapter on philanthropic institutions, which, though late in coming, are developing into a varied fruitage. The tardiness characterizing the coming of these means for social betterment was due to the fact that positive and extensive methods of practical helpfulness for the unfortunate did not take form until the opening of the nineteenth century. As we have seen, the towns were compelled from an early date to protect themselves and their comfortable citizens from dangerous and annoying sufferers, but it was long before these pitiable people were cared for because they were needy. The first reference to an insane person is in the New Haven records for 1648, in which we read that Goodwife Lampson was cared for away from home, but as there was "little amendment," her husband was ordered "to take her home, or else get another place where she might be kept and looked to." At one time Norwich was greatly bothered with the trouble and expense of maintaining a poor *Ediote*, or spelled sometimes *Edjouett*, named Peter Davison, but the case was referred to the legislature, which made provision for him, and in 1699, passed a law entitled, "An Act for the relieving of Idiots and distracted Persons," in which no distinction was made between insane, feeble-minded and idiotic, but

it provided that whenever a person should be "wanting of understanding, or so as to be incapable to provide for him or herself," or should become insane, and no relative provide, the selectman or overseer of the poor was to make provision, and if the patient had property, it was to be sold to pay the charges, and if not the town must pay the bills. The duty of caring for the unfortunate person lay on the officials in the town where he was born, or was an inhabitant. This was long before there were any asylums, and no reference was made to any such institution, or to the method of caring for the patient. The workhouse law of 1727, contained an important clause, which provided for the confinement of the insane in the workhouse, if he was unfit to be out upon the street, and his friends did not care for him. The advantage of depending on the town where the insane person resided rather than upon the town where he was born appeared in 1756, when an insane person was seen wandering through Wallingford, without clothing, and the Assembly ordered the town to provide for her. Before 1750, the colony had helped support several persons, who by the revision of that year were made colony charges. In one case it assisted a father to care for his demented son, who had become insane while in the military service of the colony.

The unwillingness of towns to care for insane persons, who were at times allowed to wander without restraint, led to the passing of the law of 1793. This made it the duty of the civil authority and selectmen of the town of residence to order all such dangerous insane to be confined in a suitable place. They might even order that they be committed to the jail. At the same time, the authority to commit to the workhouse was withdrawn. In 1797, the section regarding confinement in jail was repealed, and for years there was no public place in which insane persons who were not criminals could be confined. As the authorities were unwilling to act in 1824, a law was passed that any citizen could complain to one of the civil authority or selectmen of an insane

person at large, and if in three days no action was taken, he might make a written complaint, under oath, to any justice of the peace in the town, informing him that the person was "dangerous and unfit to be without restraint." It was then the duty of the justice of the peace immediately by warrant to have the person brought before him, or some other justice, and if the facts justified, order him to be confined in a suitable place. In all these provisions it was the protection of the community, and not the care of the harmless insane, that was considered. Regard for them, except through conservators, did not come until later. In the law of 1793, there was provision made for the first time for the insane criminal. A person who had been acquitted of manslaughter, on the ground of insanity, might be committed by the court to the county jail, to be held there during the continuance of his insanity. We do not like to imagine how those unfortunates were treated in those early days, but in a memorial presented to the Assembly in 1786, Mary Weed of Stratford stated that for twenty years her husband had been so insane that he had to be kept chained.

The movement for the relief of the insane in America will always be associated with the name of Dr. Eli Todd, who was born in New Haven in 1769, graduated from Yale in 1787, and when scarcely twenty-one years old began the practice of medicine in Farmington, where he became eminent for his skill during the thirty years he was there. In 1819, he moved to Hartford, where he rose at once to the head of his profession, and was consulted more frequently than any other physician in the state. In the spring of 1821, there was an unusual number of cases of insanity, and Dr. Todd, seeing the difficulty of managing them in the houses of their friends and learning that there were at least eight hundred such sufferers in the state, many of them wandering about half-clad and wretched, and many lodged in poorhouses, jails, and cages, chained, scourged, and despised, urged upon the Hartford Medical Society the importance

of an institution for the relief of the sufferers. The matter was presented to the Medical Convention of the state by Dr. Todd with such eloquence and force that a committee was appointed, of which he was chairman, to devise ways and means to establish an institution; subscriptions to the amount of twelve thousand dollars were secured, a charter obtained from the legislature, land bought in Hartford, and in 1824, the Retreat was ready to receive sixty patients. There was only one man who was thought of for superintendent and physician, and that was Eli Todd, who was elected by the officials January 7, 1823. The name Retreat was taken from the famous York Retreat of England, which was founded on humane lines by the Quakers in 1796, under the leadership of a wealthy merchant named William Tuke. Todd not only borrowed the name but he adopted the methods of the Oxford Retreat, seeing that it was better to regulate by interesting employment the excitement and delusions of the insane than to suppress by force. His method was not a code of rules but personal devotion, gentleness and tact; his profound sympathy with the mentally diseased stamped all his views and conduct.

The success of the new method was clear; the inmates trusted and loved Dr. Todd as a father, and it was soon known far and wide that the Retreat was a pioneer in the philanthropic treatment of a neglected class. Massachusetts sent a committee headed by Horace Mann to secure Todd's services in establishing an institution in that state at a salary nearly double that given at the Retreat, and a similar offer came to take charge of the Bloomingdale Asylum in New York, but he chose to remain in Hartford, perfecting the methods, introducing trained nurses, taking up the subject of inebriety and its treatment, and equipping men to take charge of other institutions after the humane and reasonable method. Dr. Lee, a pupil of Dr. Todd who resided two or three years at the Retreat, became physician of the McLean Asylum near Boston; Dr. Woodward, one

of the founders and one of the medical directors, was elected superintendent of the Massachusetts Insane Hospital at Worcester, and his assistant, a man from Connecticut, was the first physician of a similar establishment in New Hampshire; another, Dr. J. A. Butler, was put in charge of the Boston Asylum. When Vermont established an asylum at Brattleboro, Dr. Rockwell, a faithful assistant of Dr. Todd, was chosen physician, and when New York built its magnificent hospital, Dr. Brigham was transferred from the Hartford Retreat to the Utica Asylum. Dr. Todd was with the Retreat until his death in 1833, conciliatory yet dignified, looking with rare skill and intuition into the causes of mental disease, taking the institution in its infancy, with few resources and patients, and by a plan of management peculiarly his own, carrying it into successful operation, and raising it to the highest character by the cures and the comfort of the inmates.

The Hartford Retreat is a private institution, under state supervision, and the governor, together with two commissioners, appointed by the legislature, superintends the general affairs of the hospital, while the board of visitors and the management are not under public control. The Retreat was designed for those who are able to pay for treatment, but on May 19, 1830, the directors passed resolutions directing that indigent lunatics be admitted, provided that the disease had not existed six months, and that the number of such persons in the Retreat did not exceed ten, and that no person of that description should remain in the institution over six months.

In the spring of 1838, a set of questions was sent through the state, similar to the questions of 1821. On the basis of the returns it was estimated that there were nine hundred insane persons in Connecticut, about one-half of whom were paupers. Many were cared for at home by those who could not afford to support them elsewhere. The facts were presented to the Assembly in a memorial from the directors

of the Retreat for the Insane. This was continued to the next session, and a committee of three was appointed to investigate. The committee reported that there were probably more than seventy sufferers who were confined in cells or in chains, that there were at least nine hundred insane and idiotic persons in the state, and that sixty became insane every year. It recommended that there should be established a state institution to accommodate one hundred and twenty patients, to be located on a plot of not less than fifty acres. It was suggested that it be near the Retreat, that it might be under the same medical supervision. It believed that drunkards should be confined also, holding that drunkenness was a real disease, thus anticipating by thirty years the views leading to institutions for inebriates. In 1839, another committee reported that, having consulted the directors of the Retreat, they had learned that for not more than twenty-five thousand dollars, sufficient land could be secured near the Retreat, and buildings erected for one hundred and fifty patients. The Retreat would care for these at the rate of two dollars per week. The committee, however, favored a separate institution. The Assembly appointed a committee to select a site. The report, which was submitted to the legislature in 1840, recommended the erection in Middletown of a state institution for the insane. The Assembly did not adopt the report, but directed the selectmen to send to the secretary of state a correct list of the insane and idiotic persons about town, specifying which each was, stating whether they were harmless or dangerous, and giving their names, ages, length of time they had been insane, the causes, if known, how they were supported, the cost per week of those cared for by the town, and how many of these the town would probably support in a state institution at two dollars a week, the price at which the directors of the Retreat had offered to care for the patients. In 1842, the governor was made a commissioner to enter into a contract with the Retreat to receive the insane who could

not pay their way, at a cost not to exceed two thousand dollars a year. This method was followed until there was a state asylum, although the expense increased. From 1853, to 1857, it amounted to nearly thirty-seven thousand dollars. In 1868, the appropriation was twenty thousand dollars, besides the amount given the Retreat for the erection of new buildings. From 1842, to 1851, there were admitted to the Retreat four hundred and thirty-nine state beneficiaries, of whom two hundred and eleven had been discharged cured. In 1845, a law was passed authorizing selectmen to make contracts with the Retreat for the care of their insane poor, and in 1855, the state began to help the towns in this expense.

In 1866, it was clearly seen that Connecticut must make "ample and suitable provision for its insane," of whom it was computed that there were between four and five hundred in need of a hospital. A board of trustees was appointed; many institutions in other states were visited, and a tract of one hundred and fifty acres was offered by Middletown for a site. Afterward eighty acres, connecting with the larger tract, was purchased, and the work of putting up buildings began in the autumn of 1867. It was called "The General Hospital for the Insane of the State of Connecticut." It was found by examination in other states that the cost of a suitable building would be at the rate of eighteen hundred and seventy-two dollars for every patient. While the outlay was heavy, it was argued that a felon's cell was no place for one afflicted with the terrible disease, and that while an early treatment led to cure in about eighty per cent. of the cases, not more than one in ten recovered after the delicate texture of the brain had so suffered by neglect that it had become permanently impaired. In 1868, the directors of the Retreat notified the towns having patients there to remove the inmates by the first of May, that improvements might be made in the building. Gradually the Middletown Hospital was enlarged,

and additional appliances introduced, such as books, papers, music, plants and social entertainments, and the farm became a means of profit in many ways. In 1870, an eminent pathologist was employed to study and treat cases of special difficulty. In 1871, the *cottage system* was tested and found valuable for a certain class of patients, and about that time, the custom began of setting apart an evening a week to music and dancing. On other evenings there are stereopticon exhibitions, lectures, concerts, and readings; it is also the practice to have a band playing during meals. Outdoor military drill has been found of decided value in quieting the nerves. In 1877, the price of board was four dollars per week, and in case a patient came at the expense of the town, the cost was divided equally between state and town. The optimism prevailing in the earlier years concerning the probable recovery of a large proportion waned, as it was found that of the fifteen hundred and eighty inmates in 1894, only seventy-four had been insane less than a year, and over a thousand for more than five years. In 1902, the number of inmates was two thousand two hundred and fifty-nine, and in 1912, it had increased to two thousand five hundred and twenty.

The report of 1899, stated that the town statistics showed three hundred and thirty-six cases outside the asylums. The State Hospital contained one hundred and twenty more than could well be accommodated, and the average annual increase of the insane in the state was sixty-four; it was consequently regarded as unwise to enlarge the State Hospital further. The majority of the committee recommended that there be erected on a site offered to the state by Norwich a second hospital to accommodate one thousand patients. The recommendation of the minority to make changes in the Middletown Hospital was adopted. In 1903, the Assembly passed an act creating a state hospital to be known as the Norwich Hospital for the Insane, provided that Norwich would donate the necessary land,

according to its former vote. It was accepted, and the hospital was opened October 10, 1904. At the close of the first year there were one hundred and twenty-one patients in the hospital. At the present time there are nearly eight hundred patients. A better location for the cure of the mentally diseased could not be imagined. The ground rises sharply from the Thames River, and then spreads out into a level plain of sixty acres. A beautiful brook flows through the farm. Quiet, restfulness, and lovely views in all directions form healthful and attractive conditions.

Every patient receives a thorough mental and physical examination within twenty-four hours of his admission. Diet and treatment correspond with the diagnosis. Mechanical restraint, as at Middletown, has been dispensed with as far as possible. In this particular there has been a marked change in the last forty years. It is never applied except under the written order of a medical officer, and when the supervisor or a medical officer is present. Trial visits to relatives are encouraged for the convalescent. Industrial work on the farm and in the kitchen, laundry, and sewing-rooms furnishes employment for many. Amusement is supplied as far as the facilities admit. A laboratory has been installed which has added greatly to the accuracy of diagnosis through the tests of clinical material.

The whole subject of mental disease has been carefully studied of late, and insanity is placed in a new light; and superstition with all the traditional notions of demoniacal possession has been swept aside, as it is known that brain tissues may be diseased as well as the lungs. As a consequence of this confidence, the public asylums have grown rapidly, and large numbers of insane persons, who had been kept in seclusion, have been transferred to the state asylums; then too, the industrial situation of the last thirty years has tended to fill asylums, as more women have worked in shops and manufactories, for it has been found expedient to support a relative at Middletown for two dollars a week,

and thereby release a woman who can earn eight dollars a week. We also bear in mind that some who formerly went to the jails are sent to the asylums; there are also poor wrecks of humanity who cannot be conveniently cared for at home, and these, with others whose minds are diseased, are kept along through good care and nursing. It comes to pass that the increase in insanity, which the statistics give, is more apparent than real, though hospitals are crowded, and a waiting list of thirty or more is often found at the offices. These things are to be borne in mind when we note that the ratio of the insane who are officially regarded as such to the general population in 1870, was one to six hundred and ninety-six; in 1880, one to three hundred and sixty; in 1890, one to three hundred and sixty-eight, and in 1914 the ratio is the highest recorded: viz., one to three hundred. There are about thirty-five hundred in our various institutions, and there are enough at large to swell the number to four thousand.

The question now arises, to what extent do the foreign-born affect our asylum population? It is clear that they constitute an important factor, and one that is steadily advancing, as appears from the fact that in 1850, four per cent. were foreign-born; in 1860, eleven per cent.; in 1870, twenty-one per cent.; in 1880, twenty-nine per cent, and in 1890, thirty-nine per cent. This table does not show the percentages of those who were born in this country of foreign parents, one or both. In the computation of the decade from 1900, to 1910, this feature is made to appear in the reckoning, and assists in the total of over forty-two per cent. of cases admitted as public beneficiaries. In 1900, the foreign-born population of the state was twenty-six per cent. of the entire population; in 1910, twenty-nine and five-tenths per cent., and during 1898–1902, thirty-eight per cent. of the admissions to the hospitals were of foreign birth and parentage. In other words, twenty-six per cent. of the population furnished thirty-eight per cent.

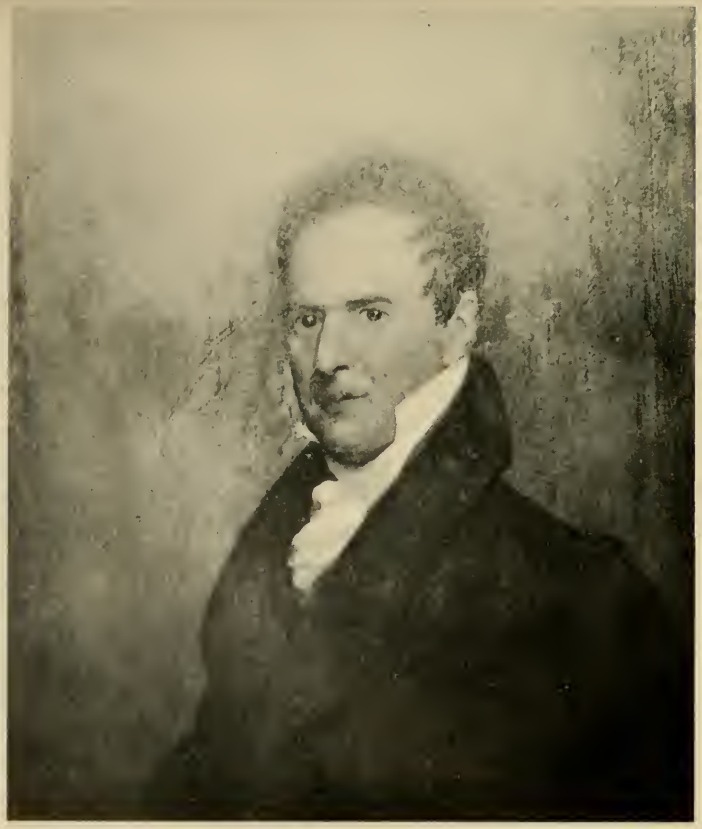
of the insane during those four years. England matches our increase, and Lord Rosebery recently stated that in fifty years the population had increased seventy-five per cent., and lunacy two hundred and thirty per cent.

The support of paupers and indigent persons is paid in part by the state, and the price is fixed by the trustees, except that the total expense for Connecticut paupers is limited to three dollars and a half per week, and for those not resident in a Connecticut town and supported entirely by the state it is three dollars. This must include "all necessary food, clothing, medicine and medical attendance." Since 1895, the towns, whose selectmen apply for the admission of a pauper, pay two dollars per week, and the state pays the balance. Instead of sending paupers to the State Hospital, selectmen may contract with the Retreat at Hartford. It became evident a few years ago that taxpayers contributed to support so many foreign-born dependents that Congress was appealed to. In 1903, "An Act to Regulate the Immigration of Aliens into the United States" was passed without opposition, under which all persons who had been insane within five years previous, all idiots, epileptics, and others likely to become a public charge were excluded. This was not satisfactory, and in 1907, a more stringent measure was passed, under which an alien that has been afflicted by any disease likely to render him a public charge at any time prior to landing is considered a subject for deportation. This has tended to lower the percentage of the foreign insane, but in spite of this, there is a slight increase, chiefly from Russia, Poland, Austria, and Italy.

Questions are often asked concerning the treatment of the insane. The horrible cruelties discovered in England a century ago have left in some minds a trace of suspicion concerning the excessive use of the strait-jacket, wristlets, leather or canvas muff and mittens and anklets. So violent is the reaction against mechanical restraints, that in 1890, it was ordered that they be disused, and that attendants be

required to hold the violent patient. There is objection to this from several sources, especially in view of the fact that a powerful man may require six attendants to master him. At present, mechanical restraint is rarely used, and only in such desperate cases of suicidal tendency as compels its employment to save life. The rule in all institutions is to allow the patients the utmost freedom consistent with safety. Many are allowed to go about the grounds without supervision of any kind, and others obtain permission to go about town, make purchases at the stores, attend church or circus, and very few abuse the confidence reposed in them; when an escape is recorded, it is the rule that one of these persons who was trusted failed to keep his promise to return within a given time.

The American School for the Deaf at Hartford, is the oldest institution for the instruction of the deaf in the United States, and it owes its origin to the efforts of Dr. Mason F. Cogswell, whose infant daughter, while suffering from spotted fever in 1807, became totally deaf. When she was ten years old, the father, wishing to procure for her an education, sought the coöperation of his friends and neighbors to establish a school for deaf-mutes. The funds were readily secured, and the Rev. Thomas Gallaudet was chosen to lead in the matter. Though unwilling to give up the ministry, he was prevailed upon to go to England to study methods; meeting opposition there he went to Paris, where Abbé Sicard was in charge of the institution for deaf-mutes, founded in 1760, by the Abbé de l'Épée. Gallaudet had every facility offered him there to learn the art, and after a year's instruction, he returned in August, 1816, bringing with him Laurent Clerc, a pupil of Sicard, and instructor in the Paris institution. An act of incorporation was granted by the legislature in 1816, for the "Connecticut Asylum for the Education and Instruction of Deaf and Dumb Persons." The legislature appropriated five thousand dollars, and private gifts yielded twelve hundred more.



Eli Todd (1768–1833)

From an Old Painting in the Connecticut Historical Society Gallery

F. H. Gallaudet (1787–1851)

From a Painting

On April 15, 1817, the school was opened in a building on Main Street, Hartford. The attendance increased so much that the directors thought that the work should be national, and Congress was induced to give an appropriation. On account of this gift, and the probability that the institution would be largely national, it was thought best to change the name to the American Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb. The name now is American School for the Deaf. The buildings now occupied were opened in 1821, and in that year arrangements were made with other New England states to educate their deaf. The system is eclectic: the manual alphabet, natural signs, writing, lip-reading, and articulation are all used to secure mental development and a ready use of the English language, oral and written. Teaching in articulation and lip-reading began in 1857, and there are several classes conducted almost wholly by oral methods.

Action by the legislature concerning the deaf is as follows. In 1829, selectmen were required by a law passed that year to report to the governor by January of each year, the number of deaf and blind persons within their respective towns, together with the age, sex and pecuniary circumstances of each. In 1837, the governor was appointed a commissioner to select, upon examination and evidence, deaf persons between the ages of twelve and twenty-five, belonging to Connecticut, whose parents could not contribute to their education at the school in Hartford. He might contract with the school for their education, for not more than five years, and on terms not less favorable than were granted to other states. They were to cost the state not more than twenty-five hundred dollars a year, which included an allowance of not more than twenty dollars a year for clothing. In 1843, the age limits were made eight and twenty-five. The amount of annual appropriation was increased from time to time until, in 1874, it was made eleven thousand dollars. In 1871, the governor was authorized to contract with Clark

Institute of Northampton for the education of several, and later, to send those who had lived in the state for five years to Groton at an annual expense of not more than one hundred and seventy-five dollars. In 1899, it was decided to give the preference to the Hartford school, because of its eclectic instruction. The cost per pupil is two hundred and fifty dollars per year, and the governor chooses the state beneficiaries from the list furnished by selectmen.

Interest in the blind began at the same time with that of the deaf. From 1829, selectmen were required to report to the governor by January 15 of each year, the number of blind persons in their towns, with age, sex, and pecuniary circumstances. In 1838, the governor was appointed commissioner of the blind. He was to select blind persons under the age of twenty-five to educate in the New England Institution for the Blind, in Boston, for not more than five years, provided their friends could not contribute to their support. The expense was limited to one thousand dollars a year. In 1840, the age limit was raised to forty, provided there were not enough suitable persons under twenty-five. In 1845, the age restriction was removed entirely, because the appropriation was not all called for. By 1856, the amount was raised to two thousand dollars, and in 1874, it had become six thousand dollars a year. In 1867, a bill was passed giving selectmen authority to exempt from taxation the estate of blind persons who were unable to support themselves and their families, and in 1873, this exemption was made mandatory. As those who had been educated in the Perkins School in Boston on returning home lapsed into their former helpless condition a law was passed in 1893, which aimed to secure an education for every blind child in the state.

The act created the board of education for the blind. It consists of the governor and the chief justice of the Supreme Court as permanent members, and of one man and one woman besides, to be appointed by the governor for four

years. The board may provide for the education, for so long time as it deems expedient, of "blind persons, or persons so nearly blind they cannot have instruction in the public schools, who are of suitable age and capacity for instruction in the simple branches of education, and who are legal residents of the state." The expense for each pupil may not exceed three hundred dollars a year, except that where parents are unable to provide clothing and transportation, an additional thirty dollars may be allowed. The board may contract for education with any institution it may choose, and compel attendance of any minor blind child.

The Connecticut Institute and Industrial Home for the Blind, created by the act of 1893, has been of great service, and two years after it opened, fifteen thousand dollars was appropriated to provide needed buildings, furniture, machinery, tools, implements, and apparatus for the use of the blind. The institute was exempted from taxation, and authorized to sell in any part of the state without license any goods manufactured in whole or in part by it in the training of the blind. In 1899, it was voted that no male pupil should be supported by the state in the industrial department of any institution for more than three years, during which time he was to be given practical and uninterrupted instruction in a useful occupation conducive to his future support. Also, that at the termination of this period, the state board for the education of the blind might, under such conditions as it deemed necessary, provide him with machinery, tools, and materials to an amount not exceeding two hundred dollars, to establish him in some useful occupation. In 1903, it was voted to allow this aid to any blind person, a legal resident of the state, who has been its beneficiary in an industrial institution for the blind, on condition that the board is assured that he is "industrious, of good habits, and competent to carry on in a competent manner a trade."

The work of Connecticut for the blind at present is in

three departments—nursery, school, and trades. The nursery has a pleasant home in a house given by E. T. Stotesbury of Philadelphia, and seventeen little children were cared for there the past year. The school had enrolled in the year ending June 30, 1912, forty-seven pupils. It is located in a new and admirable building on the corner of Blue Hills Avenue and Holcomb Street, Hartford. In addition to the usual studies in public schools, instruction is given in typewriting, music, including piano practice and sloyd carpentry. The musical Braille notation, a tactile system of raised dots, furnishes means for the beginning of a musical education. The children also work in the garden, and soon learn to distinguish between carrots, potatoes and corn, and weeds. It is the policy of the state to send children from this school to the Perkins institution, where they are kept as long as the board thinks best. The department of trades on Wethersfield Avenue, Hartford, had under its charge in the two years ending with 1912, fifty-seven blind people—thirty-one pupils, twenty-two workers, and four boarders. The industries taught and practiced are broom-making, all kinds of chair-seating, mattress-making, rug-weaving, and basketry, and these have been carried on with success and profit, so that graduates can earn their living. A course in poultry-keeping and agriculture has also been added. The gift of Mrs. William H. Palmer of a tract of forty acres of land in Wethersfield will furnish ample field for development in farming and poultry.

Another form of philanthropy is the care of the feeble-minded. The United States Census of 1850, called attention to the problem of idiocy, and reported two hundred and eighty-four idiots in Connecticut. More accurate investigation in 1855, by a commission, estimated that there were five hundred idiots in the state, and nearly all of them to a greater or less degree dependent on public charity. In 1856, returns were received from one hundred and five towns, and from these returns it was estimated that there

were at least eleven hundred idiots in Connecticut. The age was less than twenty in thirty per cent. of the cases given. The commission found that the state was manufacturing idiots. In one instance, where a pauper female idiot lived in one town, the town authorities hired an idiot belonging to another town, and not a pauper, to marry her, and the result has been that the town to which the male idiot belongs, has for many years had to support the pair, and three idiot children. Two or three towns had families all the members of which were idiots. There were two families with five idiots each. In one instance, where three children were idiots, they had been kept in a close room by their mother, in a most filthy condition, tied with a short rope around their necks, and were never suffered to stand or take the fresh air. The cost of idiocy was found to be heavy. There were towns of less than two thousand population, where the tax for idiot paupers was seven hundred and fifty dollars a year. The commission advised the establishment of a school for one hundred pupils. They recommended that it be a private, state-aided institution, rather than one controlled by the state, to keep it out of politics, for the sake of economy, and that it might be an object of charity. This was voted down, but in 1859, Dr. Henry M. Knight, a member of the commission, established at Lakeville a school for imbeciles with one pupil. The legislature of 1860, authorized the governor to expend not more than fifteen hundred dollars for the support of indigent, idiotic children in the Lakeville school. In 1862, the appropriation of the two previous years was made annual; in 1864, the amount was increased to three thousand dollars a year, not more than one hundred dollars to be spent on each pupil, save in exceptional cases. In 1873, the governor was authorized to spend seven thousand dollars a year, the amount to each pupil being raised to one hundred and twenty-five dollars. Other grants aggregating thirty-three thousand dollars have also been made to the school. In

1874, eighty-one were received, of whom thirty-five were beneficiaries of the state. It has been enlarged; lands and buildings have been added, with a lien which would allow the state to foreclose, if they should ever be diverted from their present use. It is still a private corporation, but by an amendment to its charter in 1887, the governor annually appoints two members of the executive committee, who are *ex officio* members of the board of directors, to guard the interests of the state. The school can now accommodate three hundred and eighty pupils, about seventy of whom are epileptics.

The lamented death of Dr. Knight in 1912, has not interfered with the work of this admirably organized school, which is conducted under the supervision of Mrs. Knight, and in 1913, the legislature arranged to have the state take over this school. Whenever a pauper imbecile child is found in any town of the state who would be benefited by attending the Lakeville school, the selectmen apply to the Probate Court for such admission. Investigation follows, and if an order is given by the Court to send the child to Lakeville, it must be approved by the governor. The state pays quarterly to the school two dollars and a half for every week a child committed by a selectman remains in the school. The difference between this sum and the actual cost of support is paid by the friends, or if the child is a pauper, by the town, and this expense is one hundred dollars. In 1895, an act was passed forbidding the marriage of epileptics or imbeciles, and in 1910–11, an act was passed appointing a commission to render imbeciles incapable of propagation.

The Connecticut Colony for Epileptics was organized under an act of the General Assembly of 1909, which made an appropriation of fifty thousand dollars. The trustees appointed by the governor have secured a farm of about three hundred and sixty acres in Mansfield, Tolland County. A further appropriation of one hundred and forty-five thousand dollars has made it possible to provide accommoda-

tions for not more than eighty patients, though there is need of more room for the victims of this malady. On the farm at present are barn, dairy buildings and a large brick farmhouse. The trustees desire to erect four buildings; eventually it will be necessary to provide accommodations for six hundred inmates, and the applications for admission are already urgent.

The first charitable society for the protection of minors was the Hartford Female Beneficent Society, which was chartered in 1813. The managers were women, who received authority to take girls who were the objects of charity, and also accept the surrender of girls and boys from parents or guardians. These could be bound out in "virtuous families" until eighteen, except when married before reaching that age. In 1833–34, orphan asylums were incorporated in New Haven, Hartford, and Middletown, and a Female Beneficent Association in Fairfield.

In 1863, the Hartford Home was incorporated—a children's institution supported by the city. It was intended for children who were growing up in idleness and neglect to lives of immorality. The prime mover was Nathanael H. Morgan, and after seven years it ceased, owing to the fact that it had no farm, and because there were not enough boys of that class in the city for that School and also for the Watkinson Farm School, which was so well adapted to work for boys. In 1865, the Hartford Orphan Asylum and the Hartford Female Beneficent Society were united in the Hartford Orphan Asylum. It was authorized to enter into contracts with the Watkinson School in order to carry out more fully the objects of both institutions.

The Civil War increased the numbers of the needy classes, and in 1864, Fitch's Home for the Soldiers in Darien was incorporated. It was founded by Benjamin Fitch of that town, to care for those who should be or had been soldiers, and to educate and support their children. Eighty-

three such children were received before 1871. In 1868, the state granted five thousand dollars to enlarge and repair the buildings. In 1864, a charter was voted to an institution to "provide a home, support and education for the orphan or destitute children of Connecticut soldiers, and other citizens of the state." It was reported that there were "over four hundred, many of them soldiers' orphans, in the town poorhouses of the state." In October, 1866, the school was opened on a farm in Mansfield, in a building erected by Edwin Whitney for a boys' school, and given by him for this purpose. The school, with state aid, continued its work until 1875, when it was closed, and the property returned to the widow and daughter of the donor, having fulfilled its mission.

In 1875, there was no public provision for children, who could not or ought not remain in their homes, except the almshouses and the industrial and reform schools, which were intended for incipient criminals. After an inquiry a law was passed in 1883, that after January 1, 1884, county homes should be provided for these children. There has been erected, as the result of this law, a place of refuge in every county for children between the ages of four and eighteen, who are "waifs, strays, children of prisoners, drunkards, paupers, and others committed to hospitals, almshouses, and all children of said ages, neglected, deserted, cruelly treated, or living in any disorderly house." It was not to be used as a "permanent residence for any child, but for its temporary protection, for so long a time as shall be absolutely necessary for the placing of the child in a well selected family home." "No child demented, idiotic, or suffering from any incurable or contagious disease" may be committed to a county home. Overseers of the poor are required to place in the county homes all children between four and eighteen, who would otherwise be in the almshouse. There is at present a large number of institutions for children, such as the Hartford Orphan Asylum, with accom-

modations for one hundred and forty boys and girls, chartered in 1833, and well housed on Putnam Street, for neglected children in Hartford; the Watkinson Farm School, established in 1884, a homelike school northwest of Hartford for boys of twelve and upwards who are in danger of falling into vice. This school was provided for in the will of David Watkinson of Hartford, and incorporated in 1862. Its purpose is to give relief, protection, instruction, and employment to minors of six years or over, who are falling into "idle, vagrant and vicious courses." Boys attend from all parts of the state; instruction is given in English studies, also in carpentry, cabinet-work, drawing, horticulture, and similar branches. The Home for Incurable Children was established by the Connecticut Children's Aid Society in 1898, and is situated in Newington on a farm of fifty-five acres. Nearly one hundred crippled, tuberculous, deformed children and others suffering from chronic ailments are cared for in comfortable and pleasant houses, which contain two schoolrooms and a room for instruction in manual training. There is a cottage for contagious cases. All who are teachable attend school, and those who are able assist in the housework and in the care of the garden. The Children's Aid Society also provides a boarding home for twenty to twenty-five dependent children in the Prosser Farm Cottage in Bloomfield. These are wards of the society by reason of dependence or neglect, and after being placed in homes are in the care of the visiting committee.

The Children's Home in New Britain was organized in 1903, and about one hundred children between the ages of two and twelve years are received and trained under decided Christian influences. The home depends for support on voluntary contributions, and preparations are making towards a home for three hundred children. The New Haven Orphan Asylum was chartered in 1833, for destitute children of New Haven under ten years, and there are accommodations for one hundred and forty children. An effort is made to

train the boys and girls for usefulness, and to secure homes for them at the age of twelve. The Mount Carmel Children's Home was opened in 1896, on a farm of sixteen acres, for children of Protestant families between the ages of four and twelve years, though younger children may be received, and about forty boys and girls can be cared for. The home is largely supported by voluntary contributions, though the board of every child is paid as far as possible by its friends at the rate of two dollars a week. The Curtis Home at Meriden has accommodations for thirty children of that city, who are orphans and destitute, and are between the ages of two and ten years. Everything that can promote their well-being is furnished without charge, and the boys and girls are expected to attend the Episcopal Church. The Rock Nook Home of Norwich was established in 1882, by the United Workers' Society, and it receives children under twelve years to the number of thirty. This pleasant place is of the nature of a family, and supervision is maintained over those placed in homes until they are twenty-one. The Bridgeport Protestant Orphan Asylum was established in 1868, in the Black Rock district, and it cares for seventy children. It is supported by private charity, though relatives pay fifty cents a week for each child if they are able. The Danbury Home for destitute children can accommodate fifteen and gives the preference to the boys and girls of Danbury; when others are received, two dollars a week is paid. The Children's Home in Stamford was first opened in 1895, for boys and girls, but in 1910, it was devoted to boys alone from four to fourteen years old; there is room for twenty-one inmates, who enjoy the life of a family, and attend either Catholic or Protestant churches. Friends who are able to do so pay from one to two dollars a week. The St. John's Church House in Stamford cares for girls, and can receive fourteen. The Gilbert Home at Winsted is finely situated on a farm of one hundred and twenty-five acres, and can accommodate two hundred and fifty children.

Elihu Burritt (1810–1879)

From an Engraving after the Photo by J. A. Williams

Horace Wells

From the Engraving by H. B. Hall

It was liberally endowed by W. S. Gilbert, has five schoolrooms and appliances for manual and industrial training. Children are received to board at one dollar a week from any part of the state, and nearly a hundred wards of the Litchfield County Home are there. There is an orphanage in Cromwell, which was opened in 1900, for Swedish children between three and twelve years, with accommodations for sixty-five boys and girls. The price for those who can pay is two dollars a week. The St. John's Industrial School at Deep River was dedicated by Bishop Tierney in 1908, and can accommodate more than one hundred boys. The customary ages are from eight to sixteen years. The St. Francis Orphan Asylum, New Haven, cares for destitute children of the Roman Catholic faith, and can accommodate five hundred boys and girls. Children under two are not received, and the usual charge is one hundred dollars a year for every child. About half of the inmates are from county homes. St. James's Asylum, Hartford, is devoted mainly to the care of children of the parish with which it is connected. There are also county temporary homes in the eight counties of the state, to which upwards of three hundred children are committed every year. Each home is under the charge of the three County Commissioners, a member of the State Board of Health, and a member of the State Board of Charities. Excellent results appear in school work, including industrial and manual training, and care is exercised in securing homes for the children, through town committees. Not only is provision made for children, but there are nineteen homes for old people, widows, and friendless; four in New Haven, five in Hartford, and others in New Britain, Fair Haven, Meriden, Waterbury, New London, Norwich, Middletown, Winsted and Bridgeport.

The state makes large appropriations to hospitals, of which there are twenty-three general and eight for special diseases. One of the finest in the state is the Waterbury Hospital, completed by private benevolence at a

cost of more than three hundred thousand dollars. Beginning with 1909, there has been a crusade against tuberculosis, and there are homes for the treatment of persons suffering from this disease in Meriden, Shelton, Hartford, Norwich, and Wallingford. Tuberculin is used in certain cases, but the staple dependence for the cure of patients is a combination of rest, open air, and nourishing food. There are also institutions for nervous invalids at Cromwell and Greenwich; the Sheltering Arms Hospital at Norwich is for patients needing homelike care. Besides these there are eleven private sanitaria for the treatment of mental or nervous diseases. About one-half of the patients in these institutions are there because of the use of alcohol or drugs.

Our narrative of the work of Connecticut in philanthropy were not complete without the name of William Watson, who in 1828, was profoundly moved by an address by William Ladd, on universal peace. It was evidently this address that led to the formation of the Hartford County Peace Society, the prime mover and general agent of which was William Watson, whose store on Main Street, Hartford, became a repository of tracts and pamphlets relative to the peace movement. He took long trips through the state, made addresses, organized societies, and did everything in his power to awaken an interest in peace. In 1834, Watson began on his own responsibility the publication of the *American Advocate of Peace*, which was so well conducted that the national society adopted it as its organ. Some of the ablest men in Hartford were associated with Watson in the peace movement.

Few other men have had a wider influence in philanthropy than Elihu Burritt, who was born in New Britain in 1810. With the scantiest opportunity in the public school, he carried on his studies while making tools at the forge, until he had become accomplished in mathematics and at length was able to read in fifty tongues. For twenty years he devoted himself to Penny Postage across the ocean, Arbitra-

tion and the Peace Movement. Mention should be made of long and tireless labors of James L. Cowles of Farmington in behalf of the Parcels Post, an endeavor which culminated in 1912, in the adoption of this boon.

A significant fact to bear in mind is that philanthropy is a development of the nineteenth century. Poverty, hard times, heavy taxation, numerous wars, and the strain of new conditions were so severe, that it was not until the nineteenth century was well started that people began to look around in compassion on the unfortunates about them, and ask what could be done for the insane, blind, deaf, sick, paupers, and imbeciles. In the past hundred years, much thought and money have gone into philanthropic institutions, and the work has just begun.

CHAPTER XXXV

TEMPERANCE LEGISLATION

THE treatment of the subjects considered in the three preceding chapters leads to an account of that which is a prominent cause of poverty, crime and mental disease, and the methods employed in the state to control it. Very early, the government of the colony was compelled to face questions occasioned by the use of intoxicants, and it is recorded that in 1643, many complaints had been made of the sale of "wyne and strong water in vessels on the River, as in several howses—now without license." In 1647, a bill passed the legislature for the purpose of "preventing that great abuse, which is creeping in by excesses in Wyne and strong waters." It was ordered that "noe inhabitant shall continue in any comon victualing howse in the same towne where he liveth above half an hower att a time in drinking wyne, bear or hotte water; nor any one that selleth shall suffer more than three to a pynt of sacke; nor deliver, nor suffer to be delivered to any one outside the howse, unless they bring a note,—nor any to sell, except in moderation." This detailed and stringent law evidently did not accomplish that which was intended, and in 1654, the record tells us that notwithstanding previous orders, the "greate and crying sinne of Drunkenness reigns amongst them, to the greate dishonor of God, and the hazard of the lives and peace of English and Indians." In view of this it was declared not lawful to "sell, lend, barter or give to any Indian, small or

greate" any strong waters, under penalty of five pounds for a pint, and twenty shillings for the least quantity. The license that was issued established a price on liquors; no one was allowed to sell for above five shillings a quart.

In the code of 1650, it was ordered that "no licensed person shall sufer any to be drunken, or to drinke excessively, viz, above one-half pint of wyne for one person at one time, or continue tipling above half an hour, or at unseasonable times, or after nine at night, or in and about their howse," under penalty of five shillings. A person found drunk was fined ten shillings; for continuing tippling above half an hour the penalty was two shillings sixpence; for drinking after nine in the evening, five shillings, and if the culprit could not pay he was to go to the "stocks for one houre or more; not to exceed three houres, if the weather permit." This of course did not include travelers, who were to be allowed to drink all they cared to buy, but the rulers saw the necessity of guarding the people against loafing about public houses, and also from perils of the drink-habit. A second offense called for a double fine and ten strokes of the lash for "excessive long drinking," with "three houres in the stocks, when the weather does not hazzard life and limbs." For the fourth offense, the offender was to be imprisoned until some one went surety for him. The first mention of rum was in an act passed in 1654, which ordered that none should "sell, barter, lend, giue or otherwise, under any plea; coller or pretence whatsoever, convey to any Indyan or Indyans, small or greate, any strong water or liquors" under penalty of five pounds for a pint. "It is also ordered, that whatsoever Berbados Liquors, commonly called Rum, Kill-Deuill, or the like, shall be landed in any place of this Jurisdictyon" should be confiscated. Murray's Dictionary says that in 1651, this liquor was made in Barbados from sugar-cane and was described as a "hott, hellish and terrible liquor," twice as strong as brandy. It was ordered in 1699, that no vintner, ordinary keeper or retailer of wine

or strong drink should sell Madeira wine for more than eightpence a pint, or Fayal wine for more than sixpence a pint, or rum for more than twopence a gill, or cider or strong beer for more than twopence a quart, under penalty of a fine of ten shillings; one-half to go to the complainer, the other half to the county. In 1703, an order was passed to suppress unlicensed houses selling "beer, ale, cyder, perry, metheglin wine, rum," and other liquors; also "harboring and enterteining apprentices, Indians, negroes or other servants, idle and dissolute persons, tending to the ruination and impoverishment of families, and all vice, impieties and debaucheries." On second conviction, the culprit was to be whipped as many strokes as the judge saw fit—between ten and fifteen—and committed to prison until the stripes were given, or fine paid. No innkeeper, retailer or taverner was to suffer "men's sons, apprentices, or negroes to sitt drinking in his or her house, or have any manner of drinks there without special order from the master," under penalty of a fine of ten shillings. No inhabitant was to be allowed to "sitt tipling" for more than an hour, unless he was a traveler, or had business, under penalty of ten shillings, "one moietie" for the informer, the other to the poor of the town.

It appears that a good deal of trouble arose from the custom of letting the Indians have drink. In 1669, a fine was ordered, "on account of great abuse in selling Wyne, liquors and cyder to the Indians." In 1687, the General Court ordered that "every servant or slave, male or female, that shall supply any Indian with any sort of strong drincke contrary to law, they shall suffer corporall punishment for the same, according to the nature of the offence,—unless the master shall pay the fine." In May, 1676, a law was enacted requiring selectmen and constables "to take special care and notice of all . . . persons frequenting public houses" where liquors were sold, "and spending their precious time there, and thereupon to require him or them to

forbear such places." If, after the warning, they were found in such places, they were to forfeit five shillings for every conviction, or sit in the stocks for an hour. Selectmen and constables were also to notify keepers of such houses of entertainment that they suffer no such person in their houses, upon penalty of twenty shillings for every such defect. The fines were to be paid to the county treasury. This was a license law to be paid on the installment plan. This act was not retained in the revision of 1702, and for over one hundred years, the only laws against intemperance as a cause of poverty were those imposing penalties for drunkenness. In 1694, since there was "excessive great abuse in this colony by those who presumptiously retayle strong drinke or liquers unto men who are poore, and not able to pay, without great prejudice to selves and famalyes," it was enacted that whosoever should "sell strong drink under the quantity of an ancher in any plantations without license," should have no liberty or benefit of the law to recover debts. In 1695, since "excessive drinking increaseth" through multiplying licensed houses, and it had become the occasion of the growth of much disorder, a law was passed fining every unlicensed retailer forty shillings. All licenses were called in, and no one could obtain permission from the County Court to sell liquors, unless he first received liberty from the town where he proposed to open business. In 1712, it was ordered that no one selling liquors could recover at law for drinks sold.

Evidently the legislation did little good, for in 1716, it was ordered that since the many acts to prevent unlicensed retailing had failed to reduce the evil, a fine of five pounds was to be the penalty for the first offense, ten pounds for the second, and that the penalty should be doubled for every succeeding offense. It was also ordered that the magistrate should post at the door of every tavern the names of all who were under the ban because of their dissolute habits. In 1719, the drink evil having increased to such an extent

that there was a "great tendency to idleness and debauchery," since "many unfit to sell imposed on the County Courts, and public houses were multiplied," and many were selling without license, it was ordered that "the civil authority" in January of every year should nominate a person to keep and sell liquors, sending the name to the County Court, which should license him and no other.

In 1723, a fine of five shillings was imposed on all who sold liquors on the evening after the Lord's day. About the same time a law was passed against smuggling liquors into the colony. In 1727, a penalty of three shillings a gallon was imposed upon all who distilled rum from molasses; this was due to the fear of shortage of molasses, and a few years later it was repealed. Despite the "ruination and debauchery" so closely connected with the traffic in liquors, "upon consideration of a memorial of the Reverend Trustees of Yale College," the General Assembly voted in 1727, to grant the "impost income for Rhum for a year, to be for use, benefit and support of the College."

In 1755, the liquor problem was attacked from a different angle, and it was voted that persons who were licensed were compelled to give a bond that they would not sell less than a quart at a time, or suffer any to drink in the place of sale. It was also ordered that no unlicensed dealer could sell less than thirty gallons to one person at a time, and that the licensed retailer should pay a tax of fourpence on every gallon sold. Whether or not it was believed that liquors would give nerve to the army we do not know, but in 1777, the Assembly authorized the distillation of "Geneva or other spirit from wheat, rye or indian corn for use of the army or the inhabitants."

In 1821, a law was passed which empowered any two of the civil authority to admonish any person in town, who, they believed, was in danger through intemperance of being reduced to want, or was not caring for his family, and to forbid all liquor dealers to sell or deliver to him any spirituous

liquors, unless on a written license from them, specifying the quantity. If this proved ineffective, it was their duty to have his name posted on the sign-posts in the town by a signed certificate, forbidding any one to furnish him with liquor. There was a fine of seven dollars for this offense, and if the offender held a license, the civil authority was to revoke it. This law dropped out in the revision of 1866, and in the revision of 1875, it was ordered that any one could complain to the selectmen that his "father, mother, husband, wife, or child" was "addicted to the use of intoxicating liquor," and request in writing that the licensed liquor dealers be notified not to furnish liquor in any way to the one complained of. It was their duty at once to give such notice. A violation of the notice meant a revocation of the license. For selling to a minor, to an intoxicated person, to one known to be an habitual drunkard, or to a husband or a wife against a notice from the other, there was a fine of not less than twenty dollars or more than fifty dollars.

Efforts were making for the institutional treatment of drunkards. In 1868, charters were granted to two corporations for the care of inebriates. One was Turner's Dipsomaniac Retreat, to be located at Wilton, Fairfield County. Among the incorporators of the other, the Connecticut Invalid Home, were Leonard Bacon, Noah Porter and Henry Ward Beecher. In 1874, the Connecticut Reformatory Home, known later as the Asylum at Walnut Hill, was incorporated. Persons might be committed who were habitual drunkards, or had lost their self-control by the use of stimulants or narcotics. The Court of Probate might investigate their cases upon the application of the majority of the selectmen or of any relative. There was to be no commitment, except on the recommendation under oath of at least two practicing physicians, after a personal examination. An habitual drunkard might be committed for not less than four or more than twelve months, and a dipsomaniac for three

years, though the latter might go at large after one year, under counsel of the manager. Asylums were also allowed to receive such as personally applied, and the estates of patients were liable for their support. By an act of 1887, selectmen were required, at least as often as every six months, to prepare a list of persons known to use intoxicating liquors,—people who had received town aid within the previous six months, and lodge a copy with every dealer, forbidding the delivery of any liquor, including cider, to such persons, except upon a physician's certificate.

During the past hundred years the temperance question has had a varying fortune, according to local conditions and passing waves of interest. In 1823, the law of an earlier time was reaffirmed, whereby it was ordered that two men in civil authority could post a man, as one to whom no retailer was to sell liquors, at risk of having his license revoked. In 1838, a law was passed that no one who was not the keeper of a tavern was to sell liquors to drink on the premises. In 1849, a law was passed forbidding the sale of liquors to minors; tippling was also treated as an offense, which cost the retailer a dollar for every tippler to whom he sold liquor, and it was voted that only licensed places of entertainment should be allowed to sell metheglin or mead, wine, brandy or gin to drink on the premises, under penalty of twenty dollars for the first offense, and double for every succeeding violation; evidently the lawmakers were screwing their consciences to the sticking-point, for we learn that in 1854, a law was passed which was substantially the famous Maine Law transplanted. According to this law, no person was allowed to manufacture or sell any spirituous liquors, including ale, porter, lager beer, cider and all wines. This did not prohibit the importation of liquors under the authority of the United States. The penalty was twenty dollars for the first offense; thirty for the second; one hundred dollars and three to six months in jail for the third. Every one who should be found intoxicated should be fined seven dollars.

Provision was made for a town agent, appointed by the selectmen, to sell liquors for "sacramental, medicinal and mechanical uses only." During the first years of the "Maine Law" in Connecticut the enforcement was somewhat strict, and in 1855, the Windham County jail was said to be without a tenant, "and was advertized to rent," but later, after the excitements of the Civil War became acute, and in the demoralizing influences following the war, the law, which had never met with favor in the cities, passed into such disrepute that a thoroughgoing license law was passed.

In 1872–74, it was voted by the Assembly that the county commissioners, on the recommendation of the selectmen, were to give license to "suitable persons" to sell intoxicating drinks, and to pay a license fee of from one hundred to five hundred dollars. Every town also had the privilege of voting for a less radical prohibition law. It could vote to sell only ale, lager, and Rhine wine, and the fee was fifty dollars. In 1882, the law was revised to require endorsement of five local taxpayers, and five hundred dollars was made the minimum license fee. In 1893, the law was changed to admit of an appeal from the commissioners to the Superior Court. The principle prevailing in 1914, is the Local Option law, which permits towns to have what they choose: prohibition, or saloons licensed by the county commissioners. Half of the towns and nearly all of the cities choose the licensed saloon. One of the most valuable and hopeful laws recently passed is that requiring that there shall be temperance instruction in the public schools.

As the laws stand in 1914, the seller of intoxicating liquor is made liable to one whose person or property is injured by any person to whom such sale was made, and who was made intoxicated thereby, and committed the injury while so intoxicated. A husband, wife, parent, child, guardian or employer of a person in the habit of drinking

to excess may notify a dealer not to sell or deliver liquor to such a person, or allow him to loiter on his premises, and any violation of the request within a year renders the dealer liable to damages. Whenever a town has voted against license, a delivery within the town is deemed a sale. Contracts, liens, conveyances, and attachments, any part of the consideration of which is the illegal sale of liquors, are void. No spirituous liquors shall be sold or given away in any building under the control of the state. No one can sell liquors at an agricultural fair, or within a thousand feet of one. Druggists may sell liquors upon the prescription of a physician, but not to drink on the premises. The selectmen of any town must, at least semi-annually, prepare a list of persons known to use liquors, to whom town aid has been furnished within six months, and lodge such a list with every person licensed to sell liquors in the town; forbidding the sale, gift, or delivery of liquors, including cider, to such persons, except on prescription of a physician. All intoxicating liquors, intended for sale contrary to law, are declared to be a nuisance. Any justice of the peace, or any court, upon the sworn complaint of a prosecuting agent, or of any two legal voters of the town, alleging that intoxicating liquors are within reasonable certainty kept within any place contrary to law, may issue a search-warrant, and seize such liquor. In no-license towns the selectmen must appoint agents to deal in liquors for sacramental, medicinal, chemical and mechanical uses only, and under directions given in writing. A licensed person who delivers to a minor, or an intoxicated person, or a husband or wife, to whom he has been notified not to sell, or to an habitual drunkard, after receiving notice from the selectmen, or allows a minor to loiter about the premises, is liable to a fine or imprisonment. The hours between eleven at night and five in the morning are immune from the sale of liquors, as is also every election day, except to guests at a hotel. No one is allowed to sell liquors between twelve

Saturday night and the same hour Sunday night. No premises where liquors are sold shall be obstructed by curtains or screens. Efforts to limit still further the saloons in both numbers and influence have accomplished little, especially in the larger towns. The action of railroads and other large corporations in refusing to employ men known to be drinkers carries weight, and many organizations, Catholic and Protestant, both among men and women, have been influential in shaping opinion, and in giving a more accurate and widespread knowledge of the effects of intoxicants. The public schools have been especially effective in advancing a cause which the lawmakers, almost from the beginning, have ingeniously and patiently sought to promote.

CHAPTER XXXVI

LITERATURE

A STATE settled by people of such intelligence and mental vigor would be expected to develop a literature of interest and variety, and such is the case. The pioneers were so busy getting the better of forests, wolves and Indians that they had little time for anything else than the homely prose of daily life, and the early writers were almost entirely confined to ministers, whose robust theology and vivid picturing of the underworld were scarcely surpassed in eloquence by their pictures of the glories of heaven. Jonathan Edwards, who was born in South Windsor in 1703, might have excelled in literature had he turned his powerful intellect and venturesome imagination to lighter subjects than the human will, the glories of redemption and God's anger toward the wayward. For evident reasons, the young people were not fed from earliest years on Shakespeare, and the hymns of the churches were apt to be too solemn and doleful to awaken the muse of poetry in their souls. New Englanders were preëminently practical, and their minds were apt to move along lines similar to that of Sylvester Graham, who was born in Suffield in 1794. He wrote the famous *Graham Lectures on the Science of Human Life*, and *Bread and Bread-making*, associating his name more with unbolted flour than with literature.

One of the earliest writers was Roger Wolcott, born in Windsor, 1679, who took part in the campaign of 1711,

against Canada, and was second in command, leading the Connecticut contingent in the expedition which captured Louisburg in 1745. He published in 1725, *Poetical Meditations, being the Improvement of some Vacant Hours.* It was issued in New London, and he dedicated to Timothy Edwards the "broken numbers," modestly asking

> Whether they shall be kill'd or sav'd alive.

In his *Meditations on Man's First or Fallen Estate and the Love of God,* we have the following:

> Once did I view a fragrant Flower fair,
> Till through the optick window of mine eye,
> The sweet discovery of its beauties rare
> Did much affect and charm my fantasie,
> To see how bright and sweetly it did shine
> In beauties that were purely genuine.
> This flower collects the "Nutrimental juice,"
> That's of the earth it did monopolize
> The same to its own benefit and use,
> Also the benediction of the skies.

After the custom of his time he caught another vision which was less agreeable.

> I see
> Hell's flashes folding through eternitie;
> And hear damned Company that there remain,
> For very Anguish gnaw their Tongues in twain.

He also published an epic on War with the Pequots, a fair sample of which we find in the lines:

> Here we are strangers, and if we are beat,
> We have no Place for Safety or Retreat.

The poetry of the time was largely political. Here is the first of a dozen stanzas to be sung to a familiar hymn-tune, to describe a Democratic meeting:

Ye tribes of faction join—
Your daughters and your wives;
Moll Cary's come to dine,
And dance with Deacon Ives.
Ye ragged throng
Of Democrats,
As thick as rats,
Come join the song.

An influential element in the life of Connecticut after the Revolution was the group of nine men known as the "Hartford Wits." Though independence was won, anarchy threatened, and government, commerce and finance were unstable. The "Wits" were a band of young graduates of Yale, who, while connected with the college as students for the master's degree or tutors, formed a school for the cultivation of letters, and did much to liberalize the scholastic curriculum of Yale. They also proposed to furnish the young republic with poetry suitable for so glorious a country. A few years later, they found themselves for a few years together in Hartford and vicinity, and they took upon themselves the task of resisting with satire the influences which were working toward lawlessness.

The members of the major list were John Trumbull, Timothy Dwight, Joel Barlow and David Humphreys. The associates were Theodore Dwight, Richard Alsop and the three physicians, Elihu Smith, Mason Cogswell and Lemuel Hopkins. These were able men, and in their number we find a judge of the Connecticut Supreme Court, a college president, foreign ministers and ambassadors, a distinguished physician and an officer in the Revolutionary army. The first publication of the Wits was a group of twelve satiric papers, forming the *Anarchiad*. These were published in the *New Haven Gazette*, beginning October 26, 1786, and they were copied into other Federalist journals. They were first issued in book form in 1861. The papers were unsigned, but Trumbull, Humphreys, Barlow and Hopkins are sup-

posed to be the authors, who wished to expose the folly of the warfare waged against the stability of the nation by the promoters of local rebellion, paper money and selfish greed. Shays's Rebellion was a brilliant example of anarchy, and a sample of the verses in the *Anarchiad* follows:

> Thy constitution, chaos is restored,
> Law sinks before thy uncreating word,
> Thy hand unbars th' unfathomed gulf of fate,
> And deep in darkness whelms the new-born State.

The *Echo* was a continuation of the *Anarchiad*, and was devoted to the task of riddling political evils and exploiting the perils of democracy. It also caricatured the excesses of literary style in the publications of the time. The first *Echo* appeared August 8, 1791, in the *American Mercury*, and was a parody on a florid account in a Boston paper of a heavy rain.

> Uncorking demi-johns, and pouring down
> Heaven's liquid blessings on the gasping town.

There is little literary merit in these writings. They are largely political and temporary, yet they reflect strong, unique, earnest personalities, eager to bear a part in the development of an upright America. There was a good deal of mutual admiration among the Wits, and occasional attacks of vanity, speculation and vacillation. Lemuel Hopkins was the keenest mind, a physician who depised quacks, as appears from a poem entitled *A Patient killed by a Cancer Quack*, in which is the following:

> Here lies a fool, flat on his back,
> The victim of a cancer quack,
> Who lost his money and his life,
> By plaister, caustic and the knife.

Hopkins had a similar feeling toward another class as appears from his *The Hypocrite's Hope:*

Two tones like Pharisee sublime,
Two lengthy prayers a day,
The same that he from early prime
Hath heard his father say.

Good works he careth naught about,
But faith alone will seek,
While Sunday's pieties blot out
The knaveries of the week.

There was much shrewd insight in the work of these men, the "Pleiades of Connecticut," as they were called. They mirror the aspirations and fears of thoughtful people in the period following the Revolution, and no doubt they had some influence in forming public opinion while government was forming. It is interesting to know that while "rhymed politics burdened the weekly papers," and the "muse was harnessed to the political chariot" in the *Anarchiad* and the *Echo*, three epics almost as long as the *Iliad* appeared, inspired by thoughts of a state where

Great Nature, with a bolder hand,
Rolled the broad stream and heaved the lifted land.

In 1785, Timothy Dwight issued *The Conquest of Canaan*, an epic in twelve books, which is read as often as his five volumes of theology. His hymn, "I love thy Kingdom, Lord," will never grow old, but his war song, "Columbia, Columbia, in glory arise," once admired, is now forgotten. Dwight was a decided force in the community, by his sermons, addresses and personal influence on young men, and his four volumes of *Travels in New England and New York* are full of valuable observation and entertainment.

Trumbull was the satirist of the company, and of his masterpiece, *McFingal, a Modern Epic*, we read that "no American poem ever had such immense and immediate popularity." This imitation of *Hudibras* reflects in caricature the stormy town meetings, liberty poles, bonfires and

tar-and-feathering of Tories of those turbulent times. It contains a few keen lines usually attributed to *Hudibras*, such as:

> No man e'er felt the halter draw
> With good opinion of the law.

We get an idea of the sing-song rhyme so popular in those days from the following:

> When Yankees, skill'd in martial rule,
> First put the British troops to School;
> Instructed them in warlike trade,
> And new manœvers of parade.

The grandest endeavor of these epic poets was that of Joel Barlow, a versatile man, whose most ambitious undertaking was *The Vision of Columbus*. As published in Hartford in 1787, it was a cheap affair, and much later it was issued in Philadelphia in a sumptuous edition. This was the most magnificent work ever attempted in America up to that time. He says that Hesper appeared to Columbus in prison, and led him to a hill, whence he saw America, and also the unrolling of history. The opening lines are as follows:

> I sing the mariner who first unfurled
> An eastern banner o'er the western world,
> And taught mankind where future empires lay
> In these fair confines of descending day.

He saw the Connecticut River:

> Thy stream, my Hartford, through its misty robe,
> Played in the sunbeams, belting far the globe.

Speaking of towns fired by the British he sings:

> Norwalk expands the blaze; o'er Redding hills
> High flaming Danbury the welkin fills.

Barlow's best poem is *Hasty Pudding*, one couplet of which wears well:

E'en in thy native regions how I blush
To hear the Pennsylvanians call thee mush!

Closely connected with the "Pleiades" was Dr. Elihu H. Smith of Wethersfield, who published in 1783, our first poetic miscellany, entitled, *American Poems, Original and Selected.*

Another writer of Connecticut was Jared Sparks, who was born at Willington, just after the Revolution. His *Life and Writings of Washington* and *American Biographies* have furnished copious accounts of eminent men. Fitz-Greene Halleck, who was born in Guilford in 1790, wrote some of the best poetry of his time. A good example of his style is the poem entitled *On a Portrait of Red Jacket*, in which he praises the "monarch mind":

Thou hast it. At thy bidding, men have crowded
The road to death as to a festival.

His *Marco Bozzaris* has thrilled many a schoolboy with its

Strike till the last armed foe expires.

His best poems are *Alnwick Castle*, *Burns*, and the verses on the death of his friend Drake, opening with the lines:

Green be the turf above thee,
Friend of my better days;
None knew thee but to love thee,
None named thee but to praise.

There was born in Kensington in 1795, a poet-geologist, James G. Percival, who was about equally eminent in poetry, geology, botany, chemistry and mathematics. *Clio*, *Prometheus* and *The Coral Grove* are titles of three of the poems of this eccentric poet. The following lines from the opening of *The Coral Grove* may suggest the flavor of this poet:

James G. Percival (1795–1856)

Fitz-Greene Halleck (1790–1867)

Deep in the wave is the coral grove,
Where the purple Mullet and Gold fish rove,
Where the Sea-flower spreads its leaves of blue,
That never are wet with falling dew.
But in bright and changeful beauty shine,
Far down in the green and glassy brine.

A classmate of Percival's was the more gifted poet, John G. C. Brainard, who was born in New London and lived for years in Hartford, where he edited the *Mirror*, and wrote many poems, until his gifted career was cut short by death. Some of these poems breathe the spirit of his native state, such as *The Black Fox of Salmon River*, *The Shad Spirit*, *Fort Griswold* and *The Sea-Bird's Song*. There is music in the lines:

On the deep is the mariner's danger,
On the deep is the mariner's death.

The dead leaves strew the forest walk,
And withered are the pale wild flowers;
The frost hangs blackening on the stalk,
The dewdrops fall in frozen showers.

The works of Jedediah Morse in geography, Thomas Hubbard and Nathan Daboll in arithmetic, Noah Webster in the speller and dictionary, and Jesse Olney in atlas-geography have been described in the chapter on Education. In 1827, Frederick Butler of Wethersfield issued a compendium of general history, the first work of the kind in America.

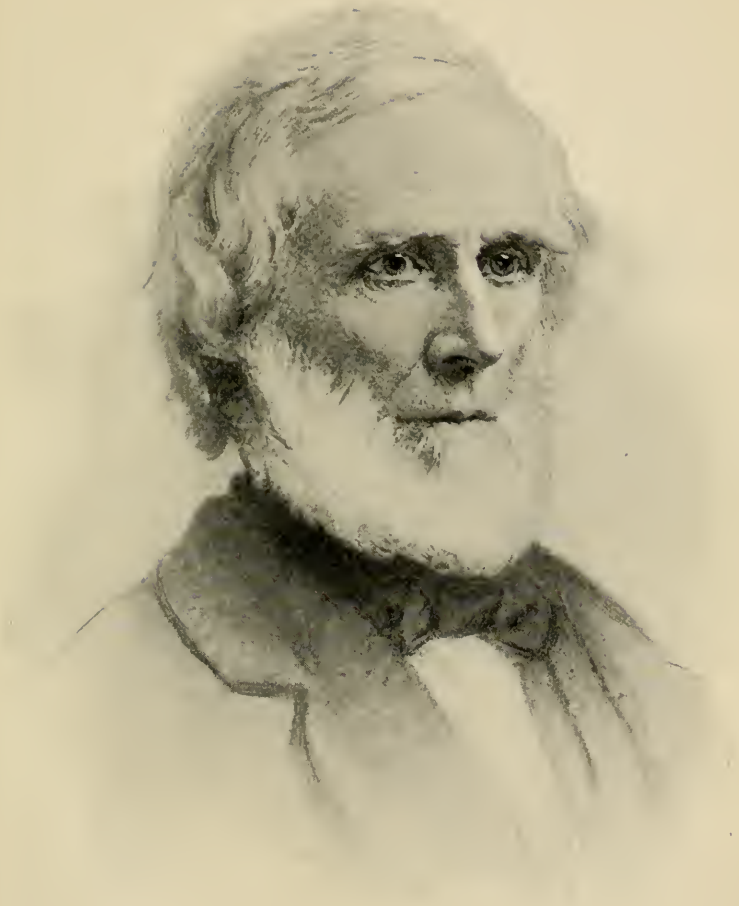
One of the poets of the anti-slavery movement was John Pierpont, who was born in Litchfield in 1785. A lawyer, a minister and a business man, it is as the author of some vigorous poetry that used to be declaimed by schoolboys that he is best known now. *Warren's Address at Bunker Hill*,

Stand! the ground 's your own, my braves!
Will ye give it up to slaves?

has often furnished an avenue for patriotic eloquence. Of a different type was Mrs. Emma Hart Willard, referred to in the chapter on Education. This gifted woman was the daughter of Samuel Hart of Berlin, where she was born in 1787. Her literary work was largely in school books, which were widely used in America and were translated into many languages. The Woodridge and Willard Geographies and Atlases, History of the United States and Astronomy were once popular. She was the author of many poems, of which the one that is best known is probably "Rocked in the cradle of the deep."

There was born in Norwich in 1791, a writer of prose and verse of decided industry and copiousness, Mrs. Lydia H. Sigourney, who produced fifty-nine volumes, besides many articles for magazines. The nature of her works is suggested by the titles—*Weeping Willow, Whispers to a Bride* and *Letters to Young Ladies.* She was one of the writers who would say "parapet" when she meant "stone wall," "couch" for "bed," "casement" for "window," "tome" for "book," and "sandal" for "shoe." She was such an expert in writing obituaries, that there were those who prayed to outlive her. In 1793, Samuel G. Goodrich was born in Ridgefield; he established himself in Hartford and later in Boston, under the name of Peter Parley, and issued a large number of instructive and entertaining books for the young. He published *Merry's Museum* and *Parley's Magazine,* besides *The Outcast and Other Poems* and *Recollections of a Lifetime.*

Although many of the Connecticut peddlers made money by their enterprise there was one who did something else, and this was Amos Bronson Alcott, who was born in Wolcott, in 1799. While a youth he was sent to Virginia with a trunk of merchandise, but having little taste for trade, he sold his goods for five dollars, and in 1823, opened a school at Norfolk, Virginia, introducing some original methods of teaching children. In 1828, he started a similar enterprise,



Dr. Horace Bushnell (1802–1876)

but finding himself in advance of his times he settled in Concord, where he became well known as a thinker and lecturer, in daily fellowship with Emerson, Thoreau and Hawthorne, and was recognized as the dean of the Concord School of Philosophy. Carlyle described him as "the good Alcott, with his long lean face and figure, with his grave, worn temples and mild, radiant eyes; all bent on saving the world by a return to acorns and the golden age." Among his published works are *Concord Days*, *New Connecticut*, *Ralph W. Emerson* and *Sonnets and Canzonets*. Another Connecticut man who reached distinction in another state was George D. Prentice, who was born in Preston in 1802. In 1825, he became editor of the *Connecticut Mirror*, and three years later, he took charge of the New England *Weekly Review*. In 1831, Prentice became editor of the famous Whig newspaper, the *Louisville Journal*, and soon he was widely known for his wit, satire and political ability. He stood fast by the Union cause in 1861, and later was connected with the *Courier-Journal*. Among his books is a *Life of Henry Clay*. One of the most influential of American writers was Horace Bushnell, who was born in Litchfield in 1802, a man of remarkable insight into the deep truths of religion, and as seen in another chapter, he holds a high place among the original and constructive thinkers in theology. So felicitous was he in expression, that whatever subject he treated, whether it was New England customs or the personality of Christ, it became a thing of life. In 1833, he became pastor of the North Church of Hartford, an interpreter of God and the world of singular power and inspiration, a writer in the front rank. His most distinguished works are *Christian Nurture*, *Nature and the Supernatural*, *God in Christ* and *Christ in Theology*. The next author to come into view is the gifted Harriet Beecher Stowe, born in Litchfield in 1811, daughter of the famous Lyman Beecher, a powerful preacher, masterful personality, and pioneer in a more genial theology. Mrs. Stowe, while

in her father's home in Cincinnati, obtained such a view of slavery that years later she wrote *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. This book first appeared in the *National Era*, in Washington, and it sprang at once into a popularity unsurpassed by any other book ever published in America. It has been translated into twenty languages; published in thirteen German, four French and fifty English editions. It has been dramatized, abridged, arranged for children, and was a powerful means of preparing for freeing the slaves. Mrs. Stowe wrote many other works, such as *Old-town Folks*, *Minister's Wooing* and *Religious Poems*. As two Southerners went out of a theater in New York, after seeing *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, one said, "Will, that's what licked us." Another of Lyman Beecher's children was Henry Ward, who was born in Litchfield in 1813, became one of the most powerful preachers of the centuries, and a lecturer of marvelous effectiveness. His five great addresses in England in 1863, turned the tide of English opinion against the slave-power, and produced a result "unparalleled in modern oratory." Most of his writings are sermons, but so genial, so natural, so sympathetic are they; so rich in human nature, so fragrant with the aroma of forest and meadow; so deep and tender in their unfoldings of the love of God, that they stand in the front ranks of the inspiring works of his day.

Though born in Providence, in 1820, the name of Henry Howard Brownell belongs in Connecticut, since he spent most of his life in East Hartford. Brownell had unusual opportunities to be imbued with the spirit of the Civil War, for Farragut, impressed by his *General Orders*, invited him to join the fleet and see a naval battle. He was appointed ensign on the flagship *Hartford*, was present at the battle of Mobile Bay, and his poem *Bay Fight* is the result of the exciting experience. The poem breathes the thunder of struggle:

Harriet Beecher Stowe(1811–1896)

"Man your starboard battery!"
Kimberly shouted—
The ship with her heart of oak
Was going mid roar and smoke
On to victory.
None of us doubted,
No, not our dying—
Farragut's flag was flying.

How vividly he describes the battle!

Trust me, our berth was hot,
Ah, wickedly well they shot,
How their death-bolts bowled and stung.

Another famous poem of Brownell's is the *River Fight*, and he wrote others, some of which are lyrics of a high order. His *Words that can be Sung*, reminds us vividly of a famous song of the war:

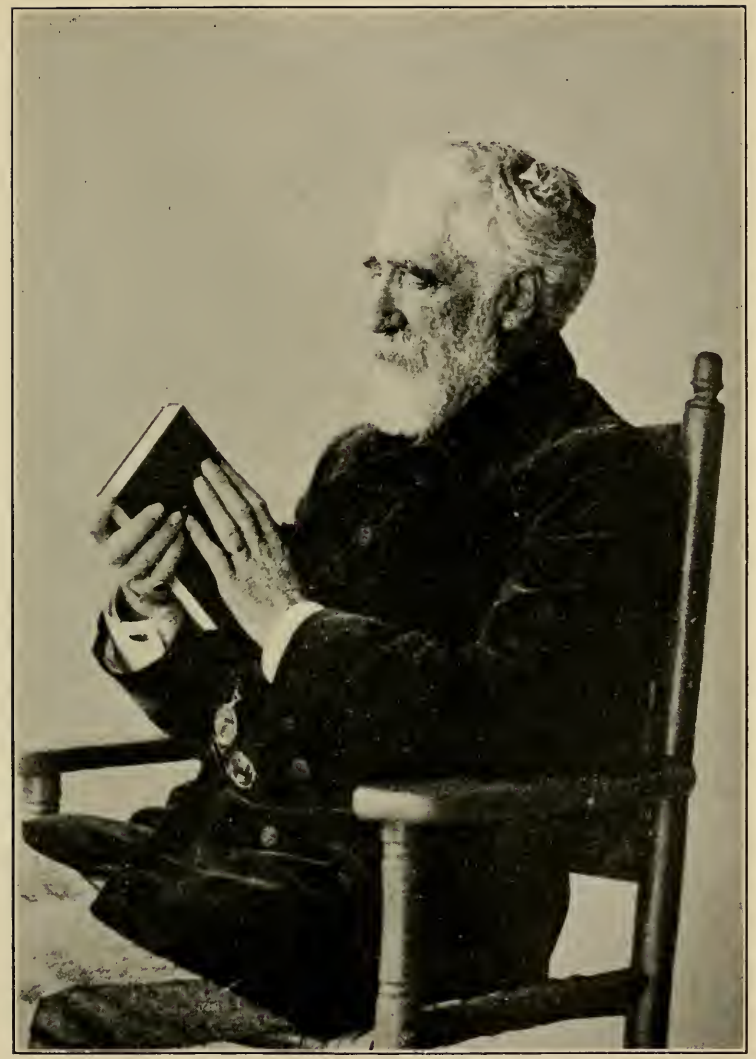
Old John Brown lies a mouldering in the grave,
Old John Brown lies aslumbering in his grave,
But John Brown's soul is marching with the brave,
His soul is marching on.
Glory, glory Hallelujah.

Holmes calls Brownell our "Battle Laureate," and says of his war poems, "They are, to all the drawing room battle-poems, as the torn flags of our victorious armadas to the stately ensigns that dressed their ships in the harbor." In the same class was Henry Clay Work, who was born in Middletown in 1832, and had some fame as a song-writer. His *Marching through Georgia*, composed after the war, *Kingdom Coming*, *Grandfather's Clock* and *Father, dear Father, Come Home with me Now* have been widely sung. Donald G. Mitchell, known to the world as "Ik Marvel," was born in Norwich in 1822, graduated at Yale, and spent most of his life in the neighborhood of New Haven.

Among his many books, fragrant with delicate fancies, love of nature and cheerfulness, are *My Farm of Edgewood*, *Reveries of a Bachelor* and *American Lands and Letters*. Rose Terry Cooke was born in West Hartford in 1827; soon after her graduation from the Hartford Female Seminary, she began to publish poems and sketches, and continued through many years of married life, until she became a favorite writer through New England. She vividly portrayed the plain life of New England, and Whittier said that in her dialect stories of the Yankees she had no equal. *Happy Dodd* and *The Sphinx's Children* are among her books of fiction.

Theodore Winthrop was born in New Haven in 1828, was admitted to the bar, but occupied himself largely with writing novels until the Civil War broke out, when he enlisted in the New York Seventh, and was killed at Great Bethel. After his death, his books, among the first to deal with western themes, were published. They were *Cecil Dreeme*, *John Brent* and *Edwin Brothertoft*. These and some sketches have been popular.

Charles Dudley Warner was born in Plainfield, Massachusetts, in 1829, but the influence he exerted in Connecticut for forty years leads us to count him in among the writers of this state. For years he was editor of the *Hartford Press* and the *Hartford Courant*, and in these papers, as well as his books, the fine literary quality, humorous and cheerful note have given this gifted author a high place. Among his many works are *My Summer in a Garden*, *Back-log Studies*, *The Golden House*, and in collaboration with S. L. Clemens, *The Gilded Age*. In Windham County, between 1830, and 1840, within a few miles of one another, there appeared three women whose writings have been a joy to many: Theron Brown, born in Windham in 1832; Emily Huntington Miller, born in Brooklyn in 1833, and Louise C. Moulton, born in Pomfret in 1835. The songs and lyrics of the last named called forth from Whittier the statement, "It seems to me



Charles Dudley Warner (1829–1900)

From a Photo by Horace Bundy, Hartford, Conn.

the sonnet was never set to such music, and never weighted with more deep and tender feeling."

The poet-banker, Edmund C. Stedman, was born in Hartford in 1833. His seat in the New York Stock Exchange and activity as a broker until 1900, did not prevent his writing poetry of a high order. Some of his ballads are of decided value, and many of his lyrics are beautiful. After the death of Holmes, he occupied the leading place among the poets of his time. His writings in literary criticism are scholarly and valuable. Samuel L. Clemens (Mark Twain) was thirty-six years old when, in 1871, he made Hartford his home. The qualities which have given him a wide popularity are humor, satire and a matter-of-fact seriousness, together with sympathy with plain people. Prominent among his works are *Adventures of Tom Sawyer*, *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*, *Joan of Arc* and *Innocents Abroad.* Clemens was a vital force in the literary life of Connecticut, not only by his writings, but also by his striking personality and picturesque gifts as a lecturer. His work endures.

Mention should be made of Edward Rowland Sill, a man of much ability and poetic taste, who was born in Windsor in 1841. His lyrics are melodious and his prose works reveal a vigorous grasp and a deep insight. Sill was a man peculiarly sensitive to the willfulness of fortune—the disappointments and misunderstandings which he met. *The Fool's Prayer* is a sample of the keen thought of this gifted mind. We catch the movement in the lines:

> The ill-timed truth we might have kept—
> Who knows how sharp it pierced and stung?
> The word we had not sense to say—
> Who knows how grandly it had rung?

John Fiske was born in Hartford in 1842, became a lecturer on philosophy at Harvard, and a prolific writer

on history and philosophy. He was a writer of signal industry, clearness and skill, and was able to group facts and marshal events with remarkable success. He did much to interpret American history, and also to illuminate and popularize the theory of evolution. Some of the distinguished scholars to whom reference has been made in the chapter on Colleges deserve a place in the literary history of the state. One of the earliest of these was Benjamin Silliman, who was born in Trumbull in 1779, and became eminent as discoverer, lecturer and writer in natural science; he established the *American Journal of Science*, and for twenty years was its chief editor. His son, Benjamin Silliman, Jr., was born in New Haven in 1816, and was also editor of the same journal, and author of works on chemistry and physics. Moses Stuart was born in Wilton in 1780, and became a distinguished scholar and writer in the field of the Hebrew language and literature; he was the first to introduce German methods of scholarship into this country.

There was born in Southington in 1794, Edward Robinson, destined to become distinguished as teacher and author. His works on New Testament Greek, including lexicon, grammar and harmony, are of the finest scholarship. His *Biblical Researches* did most to give him an enduring fame, not only because of their accuracy and fullness, but also because the first real impulse toward the scientific examination of the Holy Land was due to him. James Dwight Dana was born in Utica in 1813, and was so vitally connected with the scientific life of Connecticut that we cannot fail to mention the fact that he was editor of the *American Journal of Science*, and author of many works on mineralogy and geology. Thomas R. Pynchon was born in New Haven in 1823, and became distinguished in chemistry, publishing a treatise in that branch of science. William Dwight Whitney was born in Northampton in 1827, and studied Sanskrit at Yale with Professor Salisbury, whom he succeeded in 1854. His works in Sanskrit and comparative philology

Samuel L. Clemens (Mark Twain) (1835–1910)

From a Portrait taken in 1880. (Courtesy of Messrs. Harper & Brother)

are many and very able. James Hadley was born in Fairfield, New York, in 1821, and during his long service at Yale he was the author of works of learning on the Greek and English languages. Theodore D. Woolsey was born in New York in 1801, and while connected with the Yale faculty as professor and president, he published many works, which range from Greek literature to international law and political ethics. Professor Othniel C. Marsh, for more than thirty years connected with the Yale faculty, has published many works on palæontology, which are of the highest value. Parallel with him was Professor William G. Sumner, whose superb work in the class room was matched by such works as the *History of American Currency* and *History of American Banking*.

As we have noticed elsewhere, Connecticut has always been strong in theology. There have been many eminent men who were born in this colony and state, and others came hither. Some of these writers are regarded now with rather less interest than the skeleton of a mastodon in the Peabody Museum, while others wrought with genius and power. There were Hopkins, Edwards, Bellamy, Emmons, Dwight and West, most distinguished of whom was Samuel Hopkins, who was born in Waterbury in 1721, becoming a profound thinker and powerful writer, though his style was not happy. He is remembered for his theological system, called the "Hopkinsian," a very stern system, and also for advanced and benevolent views on the subject of African slavery. Newport, where he preached, was the principal slave-mart of New England, and the course taken by the independent minister brought upon him persecution. In 1766, he published his noted *Dialogue concerning the Slavery of the Africans* together with his *Address to Slaveholders*. He also published numerous essays against slavery in the newspapers of Newport, Providence, Boston and Hartford. Jonathan Edwards, the younger, was a son of the great minister of Northampton, where he was born in 1745. He received his training with

Joseph Bellamy of Bethlehem and for twenty-six years was pastor in New Haven. His theological writings are marked by acuteness of mind and precision of style,—foundation stones in the famous "New England Theology." He is remembered also as the author of a work which he published in 1788, which established his fame as a philologist. The work is entitled *Observations on the Language of the Muhhekaneew Indians, in which the Extent of that Language in North America is Shown.* When he was a boy in Stockbridge, the Indians were his nearest neighbors, and their language became as familiar as the English; even his thoughts ran in Indian. This work on the Indian language was recognized in Europe as of highest value for accuracy and comprehensiveness, since he had an unparalleled knowledge of the grammatical and other learning which qualified him to reduce an unwritten language to the rules of grammar. Timothy Dwight, the author of poems noticed earlier in this chapter, published in 1822, four volumes of *Travels in New England*, which form a rich storehouse of knowledge upon the customs and life at the opening of the nineteenth century. His sermons published in 1818, under the title of *Theology Explained and Defended*, attained great popularity in this country and England. A worthy successor of Dwight was Nathanael W. Taylor, who was born in New Milford in 1786, and as a thinker and author in the New Haven Theology he had a powerful influence. This name calls to mind that of Bennet Tyler, who was born in Middlebury in 1783, and as the first president of what is now the Hartford Theological Seminary, and as a defender of the older Calvinism, as opposed to Tyler at Yale, he was long a positive force in the thought of the day.

Connecticut has also been influential in legal writings, and the first to be mentioned is Tapping Reeve, who established his famous law school in Litchfield in 1784, whose writings relate to laws of property of married women, also of parent and child, guardian and servant and descents.

The Field family is famous for legal authorship. The father of the ten children, so many of whom are widely known, was the Rev. David Dudley Field, who was born in North Guilford, and the sons, David Dudley and Steven Johnson, were born in Haddam. David Dudley Field, Jr., gave his life to the reform of law, for which, according to Lord Cairns, Chancellor of England, he did "more than any man living." After publishing his *Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure* in 1850, he went on to prepare a political, civil and criminal code to cover all American law. He rewrote the code of New York eighteen times. His *System of Practice* was adopted in the courts of India, Singapore and Hong Kong. He proposed in 1866, a committee of jurists to prepare an international code, which was translated into French, Italian and Chinese.

There has been much valuable work done in history and the historical collections of colony, state, colleges, counties and towns are of the most decided value. The Connecticut Historical Society was organized in 1825, largely through the inspiration of the famous educator, Henry Barnard. In 1843, it took possession of its rooms in the Atheneum, which was built through the liberality of Daniel Wadsworth. At the death of David Watkinson in 1857, one hundred thousand dollars came from his estate for the Watkinson Library, which was opened in 1866, in an addition to the Atheneum. The presiding genius of the Historical Society, as well as of the Watkinson Library for many years, was J. Hammond Trumbull, who was born in Stonington in 1821. He had a wide and accurate knowledge, and was a scholarly writer. Another distinguished name in the literary history of the state is that of C. J. Hoadly, who for years was librarian of the State Library, which is now fittingly housed in a noble structure on Capitol Hill. Trumbull and Hoadly did invaluable service in putting in order and publishing the records of Connecticut, and their successors are ably continuing their work in making permanent and available priceless material concerning the notable personages and events of the past.

CHAPTER XXXVII

ART

IN view of the characteristics of the pioneers settling Connecticut, the motives bringing them hither, and the practical bent which has been so conspicuous in the history, one is not prepared for any brilliant flowering of artistic genius, since we do not usually associate wariness, homely common sense, political shrewdness, sharp business capacity and industrial inventiveness with interest in the fine arts, but there have been creditable development and acknowledged skill with canvas, marble and bronze. "Connecticut is not Athens" was the famous reply of Governor Trumbull to the yearning of his son John for art, yet this state was the pioneer in the original art of America, and she produced the first, and for years almost all of the standard historical works; having more artists of acknowledged skill than any other state, and the first academic art school in the country. One's astonishment at this is lessened when he considers the wealth of natural beauty within the commonwealth, a beauty which calls together more painters of national reputation than any other section of America.

The rise of art is traced to the coming of Dean Berkeley in 1728, bringing with him John Smybert, a painter. Smybert was not a genius, but he was a well educated artist who had studied Van Dyck, and came to America with that master's spirit. It was an inspiration to the colony to have such a picture brought here as *The Berkeley Family*,

which is now in the Yale Art Gallery. After spending several years in Boston, Smybert died near the threshold of his career. We know little of the life of J. B. Blackburn, but he was a very important figure in the development of American portrait painting—leading directly to Copley, the greatest of the Colonial painters. One tradition is that Blackburn was a son of J. B. Blackburn of Wethersfield, and was born about the year 1700. He passed from view about 1760, and is regarded by competent judges as the first native-born artist of America. One of his paintings is a large canvas of Governor Saltonstall's family, finely painted with grace and power. W. H. Whitmore says of Blackburn, "In his day as an artist, he was second only to Copley." He was a teacher of Copley, and most of his work was done in Boston, where thirty of his portraits are owned. The name of Ralph Earl stands among those of the pioneers of art in Connecticut. Earl was born in Lebanon about 1751, and twenty years later, he was painting miniatures in many parts of the colony. When twenty-five years old he had an opportunity to go abroad, where he remained twelve years, studying under Benjamin West. He obtained permission to paint a portrait of George III. His principal work after his return to Connecticut is a series of four large paintings, made while he was a member of the Governor's Foot Guard. They are the first historical paintings executed by a native artist. He also painted *Niagara Falls*, and portraits of Colonel George Wyllys, Judge Ellsworth, Colonel Talcott, and the best portrait in existence of Roger Sherman.

The name Trumbull, so eminent and beloved in Connecticut, stands in the first class among the early artists, in the person of John Trumbull, son of Governor Jonathan Trumbull. He was born in Lebanon, June 6, 1756. After graduating from Harvard in 1773, he turned to painting, but was diverted by the army, and served with Washington and Gates. Resigning in 1777, he went to London, and

studied with Benjamin West. After his return to America, he did much to foster the love of art here. He was president of the American Academy of Fine Arts. Though not a great master, Trumbull was a conscientious worker, and his portraits will always be valuable, because of his personal knowledge of men like Washington, Jefferson, John Adams, Monroe, John Jay and Alexander Hamilton.

A mystery hangs about the name of Elkanah Tisdale, who was born in Lebanon about 1771. His best work is in miniature portrait painting on ivory, and a portrait of General Knox reveals the touch of a master. Anson Dickinson, who was born in Litchfield in 1780, was regarded in 1811, as the best miniature painter in New York. During the last five years of his life he painted in Hartford. An early Hartford painter of portraits was Joseph Steward, and among his works is a portrait of Nathan Strong, a pastor of the First Church. It is in the possession of the Connecticut Historical Society. Steward is notable as being the first teacher of Samuel Waldo, who was born in Windham in 1783, and became an able painter of portraits. He studied three years with Benjamin West, and after he returned to Connecticut, he had a studio on Exchange Corner, Hartford. He was one of the best art critics of his day, and his untiring faithfulness is suggested by his advice to a pupil: "When you paint a coat-sleeve paint it as carefully as you paint an eye." Fine examples of Waldo's portraiture are the head of President Jackson in the Metropolitan Museum and one of himself. As Copley in Boston was influenced by Blackburn of Connecticut, so painting in this colony was influenced by Copley, who had a marked power over Earl, Trumbull and Waldo.

The earliest American sculptor was Hezekial Augur, who was born in New Haven in 1791. He was at first a merchant, but soon turned to sculpture and mechanical inventions. He was self-taught, and his talent turned to wood-carving, in which his work was so good that Professor

Morse urged him to try marble. His first work in this line was a head of Apollo, after which he produced his head of Washington and figure of Sappho. By this time his fame was secure, and he received a commission from Congress to make a bust of Chief Justice Ellsworth, which stands in the United States Supreme Court room in Washington. The marble statuettes, *Jephthah and his Daughter*, were carved without models, and are in the Trumbull Gallery at Yale College. They are of a high rank and the drapery is remarkably well done. Jephthah's daughter shows the unskilled touch, but with all its crudity it is sweet and refined, and its pose of frightened inquiry, with the incline of the figure and the droop of the arms is beautifully conceived.

We come now to the famous name of Samuel F. B. Morse, son of Jedediah Morse, the eminent Woodstock minister, and compiler of the first American geography. He was born in Boston in 1781, graduated from Yale in 1810, studied painting under Washington Allston and Benjamin West, became one of the best of our early portrait painters, and was elected first president of the National Academy of Design. He was appointed professor of the history of art in the University of the City of New York. While he lived in New Haven, his residence was in a low-roofed house, almost on the site of the present Yale Art Building. His work is of a very high order, as may be seen from his fine portraits of the father and mother of Donald G. Mitchell, now in the Hartford Atheneum, and that of Lafayette, which is in the New York City Hall. This versatile genius, while returning home from Europe in 1832, conceived the idea of the magnetic telegraph, and with Professor Draper he took the first daguerreotype made in this country.

Edwin Percival, brother of the poet and the actor of that name, was born in Kensington in 1793, studied at Hartford, and excelled in ideal sketches. The *Three Daughters of Job*

is his best work. Daniel Dickenson, who was born in Litchfield in 1795, studied painting in New Haven, and devoted himself first to miniature portrait painting, then advanced to the canvas, and was successful through a long life. Nathanael Jocelyn was born in New Haven in 1796, and after a varied experience in engraving bank-notes and painting, he established his studio in New Haven, where as an enthusiastic painter and teacher of painting, he exerted a powerful influence, leaving works of grace and power. S. S. Osgood is supposed to have first seen the light in New Haven in 1798. He studied in Boston and in 1825, he opened a studio in Hartford, where for five years he was the leading portrait painter in the city. In 1830, he entered upon a course of portrait painting in Europe, where he ranked with the best of his day. A son of Connecticut by adoption was Thomas S. Cummings, who was born in 1804, and lived for many years in Mansfield Center. He studied for three years with Henry Inman and was influential in the founding of the National Academy of Design. Cummings was called by Dunlap the best instructed painter in water color portraits in America. Henry C. Shumway was born in Middletown, and when a schoolboy he showed artistic taste, which led to his becoming a student at the National Academy at twenty-one. He painted a fine portrait of Henry Clay, and his miniatures in oil on ivory are of singular beauty. Seth Cheney was born in South Manchester in 1810, and his attention was early turned to crayon drawing, in which he reached such distinction that in Paris, the home of crayon artists, he was acknowledged to be the greatest American artist in crayon drawing. Later, he worked successfully in oil. The *Head of a Roman Girl* suggests his superior skill.

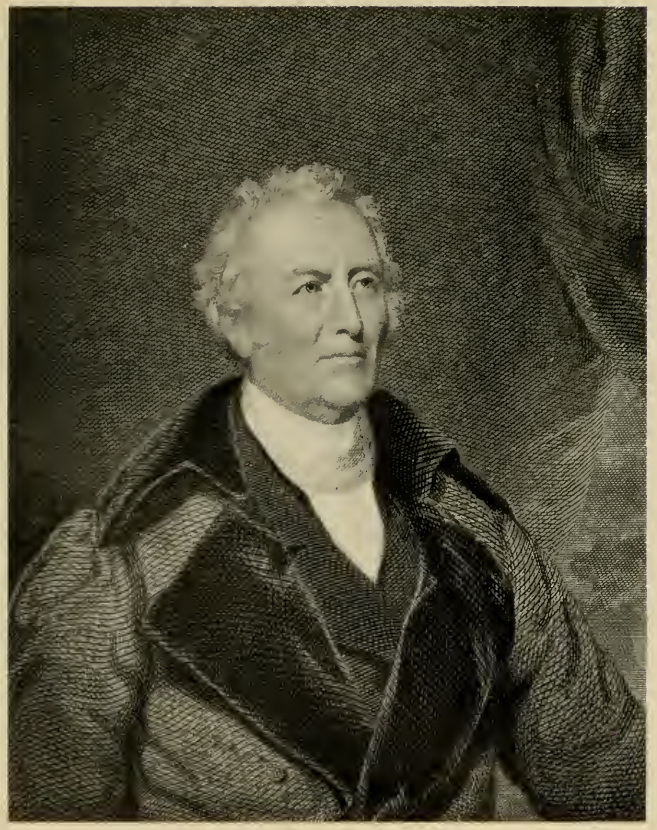
The name of Flagg stands high among the artists of Connecticut. Henry C. Flagg was born in New Haven in 1812, and in early life he gave evidence of the artistic genius for which his uncle, Washington Allston, was dis-

tinguished. His work was mainly in marine views and the painting of animals. George W. Flagg was born in New Haven in 1817, and while still a boy he was an artistic prodigy. He studied with his uncle, Washington Allston, visited Europe, and while there he painted one of his fine works, the *Match Girl.* He returned to New Haven at eighteen, and at twenty-one he painted a capital portrait of William Ellery Channing. Among his best works are the *Landing of the Pilgrims* and a superb portrait of Washington Allston. Jared B. Flagg was born in New Haven in 1820, and at seventeen he began independent portrait painting. At nineteen he settled in Hartford, where he painted several governors. After moving his studio to Brooklyn he exhibited a picture of Angelo and Isabella at the National Academy, and was elected academician in 1854. For several years his work in the fine arts was in the background, while he served as rector in Birmingham and Brooklyn, and later he returned to portrait painting, in which he never lost interest. He left many paintings of a high order, among which are portraits of some of the judges of the Court of Appeals of New York City. One of the best things that this gifted man did was to write the *Life and Letters of Washington Allston.*

Chauncy B. Ives was born in Hampden in 1812; he studied sculpture in New Haven and Boston, and spent six years in Florence and twenty-five in Rome. In 1855, he opened a studio in New York, and received orders for statues of Governor Trumbull and Roger Sherman for the Washington Monument. The fine piece of bronze of Bishop Brownell on the grounds of Trinity College is his work. Luther Terry, who was born in Enfield, spent most of his life in Florence, Rome and Venice, and secured a well-deserved eminence for his graceful treatment of scriptural subjects. J. W. Stancliff was born in Chatham in 1814, and he became a marine artist of fidelity and skill. One of his larger canvases is entitled *Beached for Repairs* and it hangs

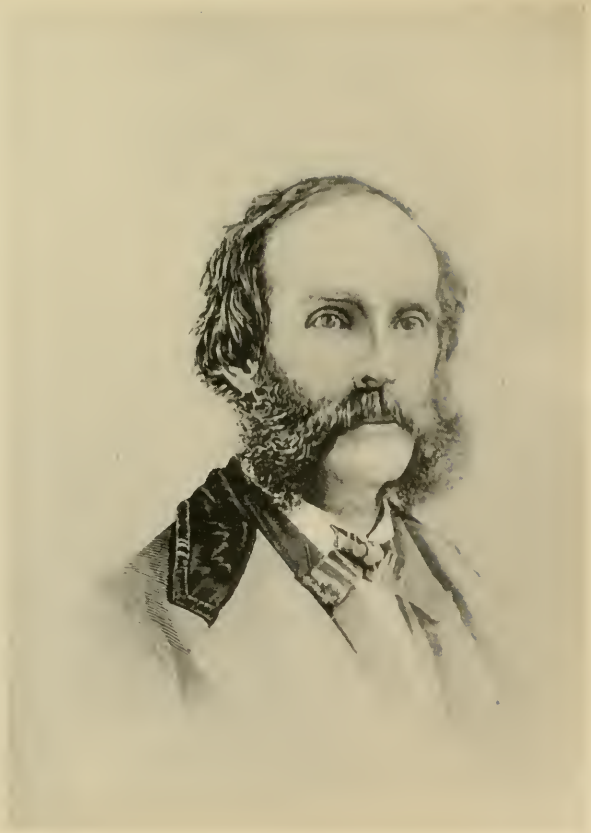
in the Allyn House, Hartford. Stancliff was for a time president of the Hartford School of Design. George H. Cushman, the miniature painter, was born in Windham in 1814, and he did his best work in Newington, excelling as a water colorist, and putting into exquisite form some of the strongest and sweetest traits of the human face. R. W. Hubbard was born at Middletown in 1847, and studied here and abroad, becoming a member of the National Academy of Design. He was especially effective in chiaroscuro—the silvery light, and he wrought with slow and careful elaboration.

The name of John F. Kensett stands in the front rank of artists. He was born in Cheshire in 1818, studied with vigor and enthusiasm in England, France, Germany, Switzerland and Rome. In 1847, he opened a studio in New York. He is known as the beginner's friend, and his singular beauty of style and fidelity to his ideals are illustrated in his best works, *Genesee River* and *Lake George*. "The New England Farm Scene Painter" is the title applied to George H. Durrie, who was born in New Haven in 1820. Pastoral and snow scenes especially interested him and his grouping of animals is remarkable. Edward S. Bartholemew, who was born in Colchester in 1822, studied at the National Academy of Design, and for a time had charge of the Wadsworth Gallery, Hartford, where he enjoyed the friendship of Isham and Church. He had a passion for modeling in clay, and later he wrought in marble. After going to New York, he had a severe attack of smallpox which destroyed his remarkable beauty, and left him a cripple, on crutches, but it did not impair his courage. He made his way to Rome, and came under the instruction of Farero in bas-relief. Then he went to Greece and the East. His works show a marvelous variety; the greatest is *Eve Repentant*, the original of which is in Philadelphia, and a copy is in Hartford. He also designed the *Shepherd Boy* and *Washington*. Ralph Isham, who was born in 1820,



John Trumbull (1756–1843)

From the Engraving by A. B. Durand after the Painting by Waldo & Jewett



Frederick E. Church (1826–1900)

From an Engraving

wrought with fine taste and delicate skill at the Wadsworth Gallery. Charles D. Brownell, who was born in Providence in 1822, made East Hartford his home at an early age, and after studying with Julius Busch he devoted himself to landscape painting. The *Charter Oak* is one of his best works.

No more distinguished name appears in the list of Connecticut artists than that of Frederick E. Church, who was born in Hartford in 1826. Through his school days everything was made subservient to painting, and as a special favor he was permitted to be a pupil of Thomas Cole, from whom he caught a taste for classical landscape composition and a passion for perfecting details, a tendency contrary to that of the rest of the world of artists. The reaction came later, when Sir Caspar Clarke came from England to take direction of the Metropolitan Museum, and rehung Church's *Heart of the Andes* and the *Ægean Sea*. Clarke also insisted that Church was a great painter. Church was a man of unquenchable resolution and energy; he studied in every clime. His "brush was his walking-stick." He painted *Niagara* in six weeks, after making many sketches. In 1853, he went to South America, where he caught the inspiration for his famous *Heart of the Andes* and *Chimborazo*. His visit to Labrador made it possible for him to paint his most remarkable canvas, *Icebergs*. *The Parthenon* and *View of Quebec*, which are in the Atheneum, are among his best pictures. His *Morning in the Tropics* is also a beautiful fruit of his versatile and gifted brush.

John L. Fitch was born in Hartford in 1836, studied in Munich and Milan, and is known as a forest painter. One of the finest of his works is *Twilight on John's Brook*. The special interest of Gurdon Trumbull, who was born in Stonington in 1841, was living fish, and his best canvas is *A Critical Moment*. George F. Wright, who was born in Washington in 1828, was a student of the National Academy, also in Munich, and after practicing his art in

Italy for some time he opened a studio in Hartford. His portraits are seen in the State Library, Atheneum and in many private houses. He painted one of the earliest portraits of Abraham Lincoln, and the *Portrait of a Child* is a good example of his skill. Olin L. Warner, the sculptor, was born at West Suffield in 1844, and early in life he gave promise of a brilliant career. After studying in France he opened a studio in New York, and his best works are *Twilight*, *The Dancing Nymph*, a bronze statue of William L. Garrison and one of Governor Buckingham. His last work was upon a contract for two doors for the Congressional Library; he completed one, but a fall from his horse cut short his work on the other. In his *Diana* may be seen a fine example of the delicate and refined delineation of the beautiful in character, so characteristic of this gifted sculptor.

Louis Potter, the sculptor, was born in Chatham, New York, began his art studies while a student at Trinity College, with Charles Noell Flagg, under whose direction his striking originality and suggestiveness developed. A remarkable illustration of Potter's early power is seen in his *Life and Death*, a painting of a skull and a rose. After going to Tunis, Potter engaged in Arabian studies and was led to devote himself to sculpture, in which he became famous. His work is along the three lines of Arabian character studies, Alaska Indians and classical symbolism. His *Earth-bound* is a work of marvelous power and suggestiveness,—an aged man and two women support an enormous burden, which bows them over, while a little girl plays between them. He had a power of intuition which enabled him to portray in symbols the universal life force which lies behind all created things, and the symbolism, though striking and spiritual, is so simple and inevitable that a child may interpret it. In his *Dance of the Wind Gods of the East and West*, there is an interesting study of the different races. Other works of his are *The Basket-weavers*, *A Hunter and his Dogs*, *The Call of the Spirit*, *The Master-*

The Athenæum and Morgan Memorial, Hartford

From a Photograph

The Old State House, Hartford, now City Hall

builder and *The Fire Dance.* Though he died at thirty-nine, his genius and industry filled out a remarkable career. Gilbert Munger, "painter, poet, patriot," was born in North Madison, and died in 1903, having achieved the distinction of being made Baron of the House of Orders. His superb genius was recognized by honors given in Italy, Germany and France.

Among the architects David Hoadley, designer and builder of the United Church, New Haven, has a high standing. He was born in Waterbury in 1774, where he designed the celebrated Scoville house, also the Russell house in Middletown, a famous piece of domestic architecture. Among his many excellent works are the meeting-houses in Milford and Norfolk, still in existence, also the Professor Kingsley house on Temple Street, New Haven. Though he was self-taught, his work is of a high order. While Hoadley was working on the United Church, Ithiel Town was building Center and Trinity on New Haven Green, the two men giving to the city a remarkable flavor of old New England. Ithiel Town was born in Thompson in 1784, worked in Boston for a time, then went to New Haven, prepared to do designing and building work. In 1812, he was chosen to design and build the Center Church. About the same time, he took up the designing of the Trinity Church. Both were finished in 1815, and Town was in the front rank of American designers. He also designed the old State House in New Haven, the Professor Salisbury house, and many other buildings. For Hartford he designed the Wadsworth Atheneum and Christ Church. In many of the old towns there are fine examples of colonial architecture, prominent among which are the Christopher Wren churches in Hartford, Wethersfield and Farmington.

There are many living artists that should be mentioned were a complete list attempted; moreover the Yale Art School, for whom John F. Weir and John H. Niemeyer have done so much, and the Wadsworth Atheneum in Hart-

ford are vital sources of artistic culture. The Atheneum has recently been enlarged and enriched with art treasures through the beneficence of a distinguished son of Hartford, J. Pierpont Morgan, whose gift of the Morgan Memorial is one of the most beautiful buildings in New England. The new State House, the majestic State Library and the superb New Haven Court House are also illustrations of the modern interest in noble architecture. There is also a widespread attention to art in the public, private and evening schools, which are cultivating taste and skill in drawing, painting and moulding, so that while "Connecticut is not Athens," she is becoming more and more an art center, and there are many indications that the future will be worthy of a past whose artistic achievements have been of a high order.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

MUSIC

THE history of music in Connecticut not only brings before us some curious customs, it discloses also some interesting and suggestive phases of the life of the people, unfolding from generation to generation. In tracing it from the crude psalm-singing of the early settlers to the varied, and often superb culture of the present, we notice that while music, both sacred and secular, was earnestly cultivated in England in the days of Henry VIII., Elizabeth and James I., the Revolution had swept over the country, and the Puritans had destroyed organs, burned music-books, dissolved church choirs and chased musicians from the organ gallery. With more of the spirit of Calvin than of Luther, Puritanism was suspicious of music, and permitted nothing elaborate, allowing only the melody of the hymn to be sung. Thus the Puritan psalmody became a crude use of a few old tunes, modified by the climate and disposition of New England; a kind of people's plain song run into the mold of a neat little version of the psalms, which they brought over from Amsterdam, a version by the Rev. Henry Ainsworth, a musical celebrity, who placed over the psalms the melodies in diamond-shaped notes, without bars—a favorite at Plymouth. In 1640, the *Bay Psalm Book* was published at Cambridge—the second book printed in America—and it was so well received that it ran through seventy editions. At a time when lyrical and

sacred dramas and oratorios were taking root in Germany, when Handel and Bach were pouring forth their immortal works, when the great Henry Purcell was giving color and beauty to English dramatic and religious music, the Puritans began the long climb from the rude, and often doleful strains, to a superior knowledge and refinement.

We smile at the cautious deliberating over the question whether a Christian could conscientiously sing at all, or only "make melody in his heart unto the Lord," and perhaps come in strong on the *Amen*, or whether any one but a Christian should sing, or whether the psalms should be sung or read in church. The discovery that the Hebrews sang in worship settled the matter with most people, but every energy was exerted to make the singing as solemn and unworldly as possible. Haydn had written the First Symphony when the New England congregations were divided as to whether they would retain the "lining-out" of the hymns. The composer of the Ninth Symphony was born the same year that William Billings published his rude, fuguing *New England Psalm-singer*. The religious people's song of early years gradually settled down into five tunes or noises, the like of which has not been heard before or since. These tunes were Old Hundred, York, Hackney or St. Mary's, Windsor and Martyrs, and they often seemed to draft in the roar of the Atlantic, the howl of the wolf and the yell of the Indians. They were never sung twice alike, and while they were going off, there were hardly two singers abreast, for the slow-gaited saints would linger to breathe once or twice in a syllable, while others would press boldly on and get through early.

Lining-out was a method established by Parliament in 1644, and New England adopted it cheerfully, for money was not plentiful, and it was an object to save the cost of hymn-books. It came about in this way in England: the Westminster Assembly of ministers, to which Parliament referred all matters of religion, abolished the liturgy, and

decided that there should be no music in church but psalm-singing, and "for the present, where many in the congregation cannot read, it is convenient that the minister, or some fit person . . . read the psalm line by line, before singing thereof." It was a queer way to sing a hymn,—give it out by installments of a line at a time, read by a deacon (hence called "deaconing"). The effect was a little confusing at times, and must have called a smile to merry lips, when lines like these were rendered:

The Lord will come, and He will not

and after this difficult undertaking even for the Lord had been rendered, they sang,

Keep silence, but speak out.

For more than eighty years, those five tunes, with their ceaseless variations, were sung, for so much sacredness had gathered about them that new music seemed like an allurement of the tempter. In 1690, music was put into the new editions of the psalm-books, and there is one of these now in existence that was published in Boston in 1698. The movement to improve church music began near the opening of the eighteenth century, and it met decided opposition. The *New Way*, as singing by note was called, was bitterly condemned by conservatives. One man said, "If we sing by rule, the next thing we shall pray by rule, then we shall preach by rule, then popery." In some churches, for a time, the two ways were practiced side by side. In 1733, the church in Glastonbury voted to use one way in the morning, and the other in the afternoon. In some churches lining-out continued until after the Revolution. About 1720, a decided interest in music arose; singing societies were formed, and much excitement prevailed over daring and impious attempts to bring in new tunes and singing by rule. In 1721, Thomas Walter, of Roxbury, Massachusetts,

published a book with music and suggestions how to sing the tunes. Walter's views were decidedly advanced. He complains of the singing which prevailed, as sounding like "five hundred tunes roared out at the same time." He speaks of the noises as "so hideous and disorderly as to be bad beyond expression." Most ministers and many others joined to improve the music, but the opposition fought the changes as only a little less fearful than the devil, who figured in the witchcraft epidemic, through which they had just passed. Here are some of the objections: That it was a new way to sing by note; that it was less melodious than the old way; that there were so many tunes, no one could learn them; that churches were disturbed, and good men grieved; that it was popish; that it would introduce instruments; that the names of the notes were blasphemous; that the old way was good enough; that it was a contrivance to get money. They asked seriously whether men forty years old and more could learn to sing by note, or ought to try. The rising tide of interest in music swept away these and other objections, and led to the holding of singing schools, which not only diffused musical knowledge among the people, but also improved the style of church music. The tunes in Walter's book were arranged in three parts and they were the first music printed with bars in America.

With the coming of singing schools in 1720, there came also choirs—a natural consequence of singing schools. There was objection to choirs on the part of many, who regarded skillful singing a sin, and sometimes the choirs were trying. In one church the choir struck and went out, but thinking better of it returned, when the minister got his revenge on them by giving out the hymn,

> And are ye wretches yet alive?
> And do ye yet rebel?

In 1741, Dr. Franklin published in Philadelphia an edition of Watts's Hymns, and the same year his Psalms were issued in Boston. Watts did what he could to retire the "lining-out" custom, by saying in the preface of an early edition, "It were to be wished that all congregations and private families would sing without reading."

With the coming of singing schools and choirs, "lining-out" fell away, though not without a struggle, as in one town where the choir had started in as soon as the hymn was announced, and after it had gone through it, a resolute deacon arose and putting his spectacles on, said, "Now let the people of God sing." About the same time that Watts's books came into use, others, such as Tate and Brady's and Flagg's, were issued, and in 1770, there appeared the first American composition, *The New England Psalm-singer:* or *American Chorister*, by William Billings of Boston, a tanner, then a singing teacher; he was an honest, earnest, whole-hearted sort of a man, with a powerful voice, from a throat rasped by snuff at wholesale. His book of one hundred and twenty tunes and several anthems had some new features, and among these was the writing of music in four and five parts. Billings was a curious mixture of the smart, ludicrous, patriotic and religious, together with a vast confidence in his musical ability. His New England Fugue filled him with joy and pride, and he writes of the fugue, it "has twenty times the power of the old slow tunes; each part straining for the mastery and victory, the audience entertained and delighted. Now the solemn bass demands their attention—next, the manly tenor—now, the lofty counter—now, the volatile treble. Now here—now there, now here again. O ecstatic! Rush on, you sons of harmony." The spirit of the Revolution was stirring men's souls, and Billings became a patriotic psalm-singer, and he put fife, drum and musket into the psalm-tunes for march and camp. His masterpiece, the tune of *Chester*, floated the following song:

Let tyrants shake their iron rod,
And Slavery clank her galling chains:
We'll fear them not, we'll trust in God;
New England's God forever reigns.

The foe comes on with haughty stride,
Our troops advance with martial noise;
Their veterans flee before our arms,
And generals yield to beardless boys.

He did not hesitate to summon the people to join in this outburst:

O praise the Lord with one consent,
And in this grand design,
Let British and the Colonies unanimously join.

In his *Lamentation over Boston*, we find the following:

By the rivers of Watertown, we sat down:
Yea, we wept as we remembered Boston.

Billings is said to have begun the use of the pitch-pipe, a box six or eight inches long, four inches wide, and an inch thick, with a mouthpiece, and letters to denote the pitch, regulated by a slide. Later came the tuning-fork. These little instruments marked a decided advance on the time when singers made the daring and perilous venture to "strike up the tune" at a speculation. Billings also encouraged the use of the viol, or as we should say, the violoncello, an instrument so dangerous that some of the worshipers ran out of the meeting-house when it was tuned. Had not Amos quoted the Lord as saying, "I will not hear the melody of thy viols"? Then came the flute, hautboy, clarinet and bassoon, until there was quite an orchestra in the choir gallery, reminding some of the conservatives of Nebuchadnezzar's band of cornet, flute, dulcimer and sackbut. It was safer and more economical to call on the train-band to furnish instruments to lead the rising tide of song than to

put in the unsavory organs. There is a record of an organ in Worthington in 1792, but the nineteenth century was well started before this instrument came into general use.

A Connecticut teacher and composer of music, who came soon after Billings, was Andrew Law, who was born in Cheshire in 1748. Law indulged but little in the fugue, and did efficient work as a teacher and writer of books. He insisted on the practice of giving to women the air of the tune, which had been taken by the tenor. This was not acceptable to all of the saints, especially the tenors, who believed with Paul that woman was the weaker vessel. Law began at the opening of the nineteenth century the issue of a periodical, called the *Art of Singing*, but he never had anything like the popularity of Billings, though he was much better educated in music, and was the most thorough teacher in the country. He emphasized "tuning the voice" so that it would harmonize with other voices. Through the middle and latter part of the eighteenth century schools and choirs made a brisk market for new books, which came in swift succession, and composers and teachers of psalmody went from town to town to teach music, and peddle "new and never-before-printed" psalm-tune collections. There was not much secular music, but lively "fuguing" tunes were in great demand.

Early in the nineteenth century, there arose a reaction against the Billings style, as the works of Handel, Haydn and Mozart came into use, and Handel's *Messiah* and Haydn's *Creation* were rendered by church choirs and musical societies. The psalm-tunes and weak sentimental anthems of the earlier time were swept away before inspiring creations of the great European masters. Among the last of the Old Guard was Thomas Hastings, who was born in Washington, Litchfield County, in 1787, and after a short trial at farming, he became a teacher of music, was connected with a county *Handel and Haydn Society* of Oneida County, New York, edited a journal, wrote hymns, composed tunes

and did much to develop correct singing and reverent music, though he considered symphonies as "excellent subjects for study to professional men, but possess few attractions for the community at large." He held that "parlor music, when not intended for the mere exercise of talent, should be adapted to promote moral principles, refined sentiments, and sympathetic emotions." Hastings had not thrown off the Puritan strait-jacket, but he was one of the last of the school of psalm-tune teachers, for the music of the professional had begun to be heard in the land. Musical societies multiplied, especially in New York and Boston, and Connecticut felt the impulse of the operas and oratorios, and before long, music was cultivated in the public schools, and pianos multiplied in the homes. The spinet and harpsichord had long been used in a very limited way. This useful movement in music became powerful after 1830, at a time when the minds of the people were awakening to the calls of the new age. No one can understand the advance in music without considering the influence of Mason and Webb, whose leadership was probably more decided than that of Hastings. It was a long evolution from the psalm-singing Puritans, with not even a tuning-fork, to the music of the present day. All kinds of questions had to be answered, and various conditions met. The merry old tune of *Lydia Fisher* became the patriotic *Yankee Doodle;* psalm-tunes, which had wafted fervid souls heavenward, cheered the patriots at Saratoga and Trenton; instrument after instrument crept into the choir gallery until a worshiper might almost imagine that a train-band was rehearsing the harp music of the heavenly orchestra. About a hundred years ago, organs, paid choirs, pianos, oratorios, operas, singing in the public schools, hymn-books of all kinds, from the jingle to the classic, carried the people still further from the days of five tunes with variations, sung without even a pitch-pipe to standardize. Singing schools continued, and in some communities they were held twice a week; there were

thorough teachers, and drill was exacting. Young folks might court and flirt to their hearts' content on their way to school and afterwards, but during the sessions, the task was stiff and the discipline strict.

The most eminent composer of the modern period was Dudley Buck, who was born in Hartford in 1839, and after a brief course at Trinity College, he went to Leipzig to the Conservatory, studying under the great masters, Hauptmann, Richter, Rietz and Moscheles; later he studied the organ under Schneider at Dresden. After three years in Germany, he spent a year in Paris, and then returned to Hartford, to be a church organist and teacher of music. He entered upon a series of organ-concert tours lasting fifteen years, playing in almost every important city and in many smaller towns, popularizing the best music, and interpreting it to thousands. In 1869, he was called to the "mother-church" of Chicago, and after the fire in 1871, he went to Boston, to become organist at St. Paul's; later he was in charge of the "great organ" at Music Hall. In 1875, Buck became assistant conductor at the Cincinnati Music Festival, and on invitation of Theodore Thomas, he had a part in concerts at the Central Park Garden, New York. He became organist of the Holy Trinity, Brooklyn, and in 1877, conductor of the Apollo Club, which he founded, and brought to a high efficiency, writing for it many of his numerous compositions for male voices. Buck was a thoroughly trained musician, talented, expert and clever. He laid stress on the quartette, and wrote many organ solos, sonatas, marches, pastorals; he holds a foremost place in the cantata. In 1876, he set to music the *Centennial Meditation of Columbia*, performed under the direction of Theodore Thomas. His largest work was an oratorio, *The Light of Asia*, and in his later compositions, he adopted the Wagnerian method, though otherwise he follows the school of canon and fugue, "with an Italian tendency to the declamatory, and well-rounded melodic period." His sacred music holds a high place, and

his *Golden Legend* won the prize offered by the Musical Festival Association of Cincinnati in 1880. His latest published works are short cantatas with organ accompaniment, called *The Coming of the King*, *The Story of the Cross* and *Christ the Victor*. After a long and valuable service in which he composed many songs, anthems and organ pieces, Dudley Buck retired from active work in 1903, and in 1909, he died.

An important movement of recent years is the Litchfield County Choral Union, a union of five societies, centering in Norfolk, and embracing a large part of the county, through which seven hundred voices are in training, with weekly rehearsals, under the direction of Richard P. Paine, from January until June, when a three days' festival is given in a large building erected for the purpose. The chorus of four hundred and twenty-five voices is assisted by an orchestra of seventy-five instruments, and the first concert is always a full oratorio. On the second and third evenings the chorus is generally utilized in short choral work, while the rest of the time is devoted to orchestral music, with several instrumental soloists. Several years ago composers were encouraged to prepare original works for the first performance at the festivals, and an oratorio, a cantata, symphony, two violin concertos and other works appeared then, mostly by American composers. The expense is met by Carl Stoeckel and his wife, who do this service in memory of Robbins Battell, in whose honor the Choral Union was formed to present to the people of Litchfield County the best choral and orchestral music. Twelve years have wrought marked changes in polishing and finishing tone and phrase, and in bringing deeper meanings of the works to the singers, and now any current choral work can be given with brilliant effect. One result of this movement is the marked improvement in the church music in the county.

While it is impossible to give in detail the rich development of music in recent times, stress must be laid upon the

Dudley Buck (1839–1909)

From an Engraving

Yale School of Music, the influence of which, with its Sanford, the Stoeckels, Parker, Smith, Jepson and others, has been wide and powerful. Prominent in the founding of the school was Samuel Sanford, who was born in Bridgeport and was connected with the Damrosch Symphony. Sanford was professor of the pianoforte, and had much to do with bringing to Yale the eminent Horatio Parker, whose compositions are large in volume, and high in quality. His *Hora Novissima* was performed at Chester, England, in 1899; being the first American production ever given on one of those festivals. In 1911, he was awarded the Metropolitan Opera prize of ten thousand dollars for the opera *Mona*. His *Wanderer's Psalm* was given at the festival at Hereford, England. The New Haven Symphony Orchestra has been justly celebrated, as has the Hartford Philharmonic Society, and the Beethoven Society, founded in Hartford by George E. Whiting; doing large service under Barnet.

The progress has been long but decided, from the rude and venturesome five-tune medleys to present conditions, and instruments of all kinds from the penny-in-the-slot device to the richest organ are doing their best—many of them under the skillful touch of trained and able musicians —to reinforce the voices of wonderful singers. Delightful concerts at the Sunday services charm the worshipers, and waft their aspirations heavenward far more esthetically than in the old lining-out days. Music is an important department in the course in public schools. Humble is the home that does not possess some instrument. Germany, Italy, Russia, England, Poland and the great cities of our own country pour into Connecticut their treasures to help usher in the Golden Age of music.

CHAPTER XXXIX

AGRICULTURE

AMONG the resources to which the settlers turned for a living, farming stood first, and they found ample field to develop muscle, skill and patience, since the greater part of the three million acres consisted of rolling or mountainous highlands, with innumerable small valleys. The eastern parts are less rugged than the western, and between these lies the Connecticut basin, with its sandy loam, containing also deposits of sand and gravel. The soils, as related in an earlier chapter, are derived from the glaciation of the underlying rock, and the highland portion has been swept bare of the finer material at the higher altitudes and on the steep slopes. The lower inclines are covered in places by a glacial débris, in which are found stony, sandy and heavy loams. Large areas can be used only for forestry or pasturage, and fruit trees flourish on the rocky hillsides. The Indians did little in farming, though they cleared fields by girdling and firing, and the settlers learned from them about growing and storing Indian corn.

The farmer, whether primitive or trained, whether toiling on the stony fields of the eastern counties or delving in the rich, mellow soil of the central valley, has been an indispensable element in the commonwealth. The farm has been a poor place for a lazy man to exercise his gifts, and the virtues it has fostered are industry and thrift. From early times the typical farmer has been an incessant worker;

mending a cart like a mechanic, tapping shoes like a cobbler, doctoring a sick cow like a veterinary, and building a barn like a carpenter. His clothes were mostly from the backs of his sheep or from his field of flax, and while they were not fanciful either in color or cut, they would wear, and keep out wind and water. Shoes were usually home-made; a calf furnished the skin; an itinerant shoemaker made the solid footwear, and about Thanksgiving time a pair of shoes was given to each of the boys with the charge to make them last a year. In the summer, boys and even men went barefoot, and if they walked to church, they would carry their shoes and stockings until near the sanctuary, thus saving shoe-leather and shine.

Money was in little use; nearly everything but taxes was paid for by exchange. When a farmer killed veal, mutton, pork or beef, he distributed portions of the meat among his neighbors, who returned a similar quantity when convenient. In the spring, after the first hoeing, the farmer would take a load of corn or rye to the nearest large town, and carry home flour, molasses, spices and other household necessities, and in the autumn the pork was carried off in the same manner. Sometimes twenty teams started from one neighborhood together, all loaded with grain or pork for the city, perhaps thirty miles distant. The hired man was in the early days of native birth; sometimes the surplus from a large family in the neighborhood; sometimes men of family who rented small houses, to be found in every neighborhood, and "worked out," by day or month, earning from twelve and a half to twenty dollars a month, and he usually kept a cow and pig; raising potatoes enough to carry him through the season, while the cow was pastured on the highway in the summer, and perhaps let out to a farmer for the winter for her keeping. The potatoes were usually raised on land cultivated on shares, the work being done after a hard day's work. As we have noticed in another chapter, most of the food used in the farmer's home came from the

farm or the neighboring lake, river, Sound or forest, and on the roof which flattened out over the lean-to sliced apples, whortleberries, blueberries and nuts were dried. Under the oven was a recess for the dye-pot, for the housewife did her own dyeing, coloring cloth, stockings and mittens. Most of the dyestuffs came from the farm, butternut bark making a brownish yellow, the bark of a yellow oak making a yellow that was nearly fast color, indigo weed a blue that would run, unless a small quantity of indigo from the store were mingled with it, and poke berries making a purple. From the field of flax and the back of sheep came materials for summer and winter clothing; the women usually making garments for themselves; an itinerant tailoress would spend a week or two in a home and make coats, vests and trousers for men and boys. In winter the farmer usually wore two shirts, a white and a red one, both of flannel. The heavy boots made from the calfskin and tanned near by, when well filled with tallow and lampblack, defied mud and slush.

About the first of April came the busy season, which lasted, with now and then a breathing-spell, until Thanksgiving. After haying, the farmer would sometimes leave the stock to be cared for by the hired man, and taking his family in his oxcart, go to seaside or lakeshore for a few days of fishing and clamming. The farmer's wife needed to be a woman of physical vigor, ingenious mind, "good calculation," energy and swift hand, for in addition to preparing the meals, washing, ironing, spinning, weaving, making clothing, knitting, mending, caring for children, often half a score of them, she must make soap, butter, cheese, pickles, preserves, candles; the lard must be tried out; the pork and beef must be salted; sausages made, and the catechism sowed and harrowed in. In days before clubs discussed the perils of adolescence, and balanced rations for hens, she had to make the boys mind, and the pullets lay. It was her flying fingers that knit mittens and stockings, that washed the dishes, tended the loom and rocked the cradle.

The tools and implements used on the farm were of the most primitive kind, and as for machinery, that was mainly the bone and muscle of the sturdy workers. Hoes and spades, as well as ploughs, were made by the village blacksmith. A snathe was furnished by the limb of a tree, bent at the needed angle, and the scythe was bought where the hoe was. The rifle, or whetting-tool, was a bit of stone of convenient shape, or a piece of wood whittled to the convenient size, and coated with a mixture of tallow and pulverized flint. Soon after sunrise the mowers were in the field, taking turns in leading off in their circles around the grass. Boys followed after the dew had dried, "spreading the swaths," and after dinner the wilted grass was turned with forks; toward night raked and cocked, and the second day carted to barn or stack. Thunder showers were frequent in some seasons, and these gave zest and incited to speed. Farmers usually followed a method of rotation in the raising of the plain crops before the days of tobacco and "truck-farms." When a field of grass was "run out," it was ploughed in autumn or early spring, and corn planted on the sod; the second year, potatoes were raised, after these vegetables came into use; then the land was "laid down" and oats, barley or rye was sown with the hayseed. After the grain had been taken off, the clover, herd's grass and redtop appeared, and the number of crops of hay depended on the strength of the soil and the generosity of the top-dressing.

Before the breaking out of the Civil War in 1861, farming and manufacturing were about equally balanced. At that time there was about the same amount of capital, and the same number of people employed in each occupation. Following the war there was a large expansion of the manufacturing industries in the state; large areas of virgin soil were opened in the west by the rapid increase of railroads, and agriculture has suffered in consequence. Of late there has been a mild reaction, and a growing conviction that when it is followed as a business by a man who has some capital,

and is so fortunate as to understand how to farm intelligently, farming is a reliable and lucrative occupation. It is being studied carefully and scientifically by many of the young men at Storrs Agricultural College, which was founded in 1879, and is offering invaluable opportunities to make the most of the soils and climate of Connecticut for the production of fruits, grains and vegetables in the most effective ways. Studies and practical work go on together, in the dairy, the potato patch, the cornfield, the greenhouse, the orchard and the hennery. Chemistry, biology, the influence of fertilizers, chemicals, intensive culture, draining and various sprays are at work there to bring into the life of plant, hen, cow and student the most valuable results; to learn how to develop hidden resources, correct faults, and apply brains to the work of the farm. The tract of six hundred acres upon which the college is located, is in a picturesque country among the beautiful hills and streams of Tolland County, and the influence of the institution is not limited to the training which it gives to the students who gather there, but extends also to thousands of others, who, through lectures and literature, share in the skilled and practical teachings of its professors.

Other organizations in the state, such as the Dairymen's Association, Horticultural Society, Market Gardeners' Association and others are efficient and powerful means for developing the resources of the state. The spread of the trolley and the increase of automobiles have given a zest to farming, bringing within the influence of cities regions which were formerly lonely. Nervous and wearied dwellers in the city, wealthy business men and discontented workers in shop or store vie with thrifty Swede, Italian and Pole to own and till valleys and hillsides, which have long furnished healthful though scanty livelihood to the settlers and their descendants. Of late, the unrest among farmers has been owing to the lure of the city which has called away the boys, the spread of the enemies of vegetation, and the greater

cost of living through multiplying pleasures and luxuries. During the past ten years there has been an increase in the population of the state of twenty-two and seven-tenths, and a decrease of five and five-tenths per cent in farm land. Farm property has increased more than forty per cent. in value, and more than half the increase is in the value of buildings, live stock, and machinery. There was a continuous increase in the number of farms from 1850, to 1880, followed by a net decrease during the past thirty years. The acreage of improved farm land decreased seventy-six thousand acres in the ten years ending with 1910. The Connecticut farm averaged one hundred and six acres in 1850, and eighty-one acres in 1910. The average value of a farm in 1910, including equipment, was nearly five thousand dollars, or one and a half times greater than in 1850, and the average value of farm lands in 1910, was thirty-three dollars an acre. During the last ten years the value of land and buildings per acre has increased twenty-one dollars, and the value of implements, machinery and live stock is nearly twice as great as sixty years ago. In 1910, nearly eighty-four per cent. of the farms were operated by owners. Of the 23,234 farms owned in whole or in part by the operators in 1910, the number mortgaged was forty-three and two-tenths per cent., a slight increase from 1900, and a large increase from 1890, but this is more than offset by the increase in the value of farms. In 1910, three out of every four farmers were native whites, and of the 6861 foreign-born white farmers, Germany furnished over thirteen hundred, Ireland over eleven hundred, Russia and Sweden over six hundred apiece, England and Austria over five hundred each, and Italy over three hundred. There has been an increase in the value of poultry of fifty-three and five-tenths per cent. in ten years. The total value of farm crops in 1909, was nearly twenty-two and a half million dollars, an increase of thirty-five per cent. in ten years, owing largely to the advance in prices. Hay was the most valuable crop, being eight times

greater than corn and sixty per cent. greater than tobacco. Corn had double the acreage of potatoes and ten per cent. less value. Orchard fruits increased in value nearly a million and a third dollars in ten years from 1900, to 1910. Over two-thirds of the farmers employ labor, and the average expense in 1909, was three hundred and eighty-three dollars.

No more intelligent, enthusiastic and energetic men can be found in any other calling than are seen on the dairy, fruit and market-gardening farms of this state. The whole civilized world is ransacked for pure-bred stock, the most valuable seeds, the most productive and the choicest trees; the most successful methods of releasing the richness of the soil, and developing the varied and enticing resources of valley and hillside, are studied with eagerness and patience. Prophetic was the coming into Hartford County in 1846, of twelve of the best cows John A. Taintor could find on the island of Jersey. Other breeds, Brown Swiss, Guernseys, Durhams, Devons, Ayrshires, Holsteins and Dutch, came in to supplant or improve the plain grade cattle; study, balanced rations and greater care have produced decided changes in the dairy interests of the state. The publications of the Connecticut Agricultural Station at New Haven, Storrs College and the Yale School of Forestry are doing much to develop and conserve the wealth of field, orchard, forest and dairy. A state forester, authorized by the Forestry Act of 1903, to protect and cultivate trees for the benefit of the state, is also ready to advise private owners as to the treatment and preservation of woodlands.

From early times tobacco has been cultivated in Connecticut, and as early as 1765, it was exported to England from Suffield. Since that time many farmers in the state have devoted thought and incessant care to the task of producing the finest results. Experts from the Agricultural Department at Washington have made a thorough study of local conditions, and have greatly assisted in improving types and methods of production. Farmers in the Connecticut Valley

have had such confidence in the excellence of their tobacco, that they have endured disappointments from drought, frost, wind, hail, and low prices; they have petted their crops like an only child; they have screened them with snowy canvas shields; they have fought insect pests with untiring patience, and many of them have gained a competence as the result. So skillful is the culture of the crop that it can be raised year after year indefinitely on the same land with no diminution of production, which will range from one thousand to two thousand five hundred pounds to the acre. The broad-leaf and Havana seed-leaf wrappers are favorite varieties, which, excepting the Florida growth from Sumatra, give the nearest approach to the Sumatra. With increase of towns and quick transportation, market-gardening has come to be a lucrative and attractive form of farming. The variety of vegetables raised would be a marvel to Roger Sherman. The coming of men of many nationalities has created changes in productions. Tomatoes, egg-plant, celery, cauliflower, kale, dandelions, asparagus, radishes, lettuce, cucumbers and onions are among the products of the skillful market-gardener, whose Association advances his knowledge and protects his interests. Connecticut is coming to be famous for its fruit. The boom, which is enticing large capital to the irrigated lands of the far West, has not yet struck modest and wary Connecticut, where the people are learning that the hills of the state can produce apples unparalleled in the world for quantity and flavor. Nearly three million peach trees are growing in her orchards, and in peach-production she ranks next to Georgia and Maryland among the Atlantic states. The development of farming interests is promoted by good roads, in which the state has been active for fifteen years.

Agricultural papers distribute a gentle rain of intelligence about insecticides, fungicides, butter-fat, balanced rations, dust-mulch and trap-nests. Farmers' institutes pour forth a torrent of information about planting potatoes and corn,

infecting the soil with lively nitrogen, killing pernicious bacteria, and under-draining. He who runs may read how to spray to death every known scale, bug, moth and blight. Granges in every live town tell how to make a garden, raise flowers, keep the wife happy and the boy contented on the farm, defy high prices and smile blandly at millionaires. The adventurous youth learns how to select a rooster that sings the *Lay of the Cheerful Leghorn.* Seed companies distribute pamphlets, with pictures of melons, cucumbers, and celery, as brilliant as a Turner. Congressmen flood their constituents with seeds which come up as well as some of their arguments go down. The farmer misses the patient ox at the agricultural fair, but he can enjoy the festive horse, and discover which automobile he would like to buy.

There was a time when the farmer's boy, who was less brilliant than the others, was booked for the ministry, if solemn and pale, and for the farm if industrious. Now, brains are demanded, trained and skillful minds, to make an able farmer. It is not enough to follow the old paths; the farmer must crowd out purslane with a twenty-five cent cauliflower; raise a bunch of celery, where grew two blades of grass; convert rainwater into lettuce and outwit the ingenius microbe. The first commercial fertilizer company dates from 1862; before that the barnyard and cellar, wood ashes and a sprinkling of guano enticed the coy potato, and cheered the graceful corn. Formerly, the farmer's wife made the butter; now sixty creameries in the state release her busy fingers, that she may attend the pleasant club, chat through the telephone, or trolley to the city. Farming has changed decidedly since 1845, a convenient date to mark the transition from the older methods. It is becoming more and more a science. Wheat, oats, rye, Indian corn, and buckwheat were raised in larger quantities in 1800, than a century later, but hay has increased by a third; garden vegetables, berries, peaches, plums, apples and poultry enlist the

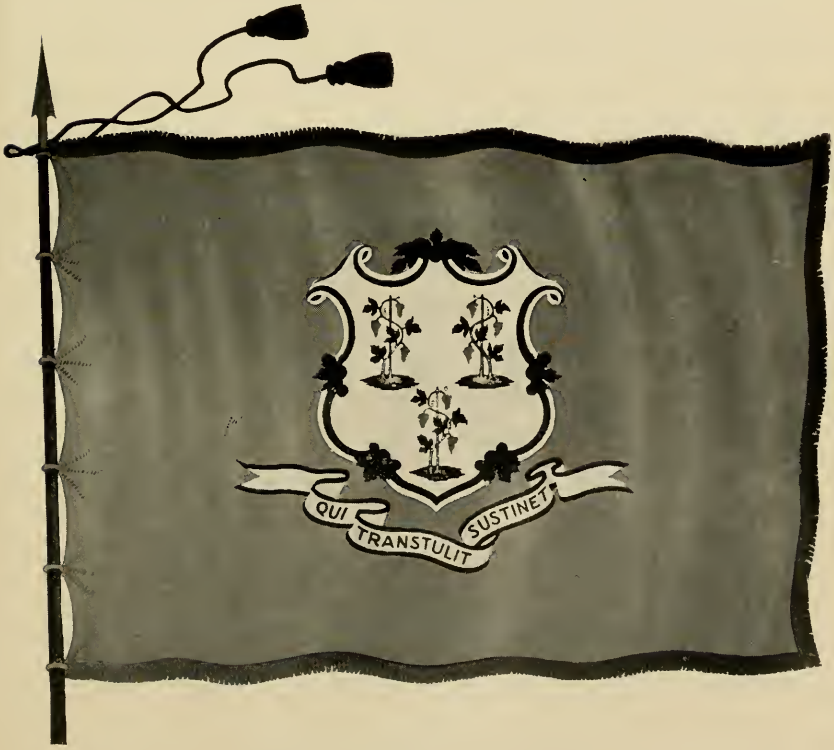
enterprising. For a time, industrial activities drew away many to the factory and the store, but a reaction has set in. The song of the abandoned farm has died away. There are few abandoned farms; some have passed into the hands of foreigners who lay up money where the descendants of the settlers find it hard to make both ends meet; some have been changed into villas for nerve-weary people from the cities; some are managed with success by men of brains and means.

Brains and enterprise have always been at a premium in agriculture, and there never was a time when the farmer was not compelled to stand guard against numberless enemies; in the early years crows, blackbirds, wolves, foxes, and numberless other animals were bold and hungry; in 1666, the caterpillar and cankerworm appeared; trees were tarred to arrest this pest; in 1770, the palmer worm came, attacking rye, wheat, and grass. We find record of the peach worm and how to treat it over one hundred years ago, also of the white grub in corn, meadow and pasture, while a blast would often strike wheat and rye.

There was a decline of interest in the quiet farm after the war, when inflation touched the brain; when the humble plow seemed slow compared with the charge of artillery; and the whirr of machinery more entrancing than the whetting of a scythe or the chug of a hoe. There was a glamour about city life, which caught the ambitious and the restless, but a movement the other way is discerned which is as rapid and strong as might be expected in this land of steady habits. The spread of the electrics, telephones, and good roads, together with the tidings of the trials of city wage-earners, which float into the country, are encouraging the farmers to continue to till the soil, and their prosperity is suggested by the fact that hundreds of them are buying touring-cars, and the percentages of mortgages which make the feat possible is no larger in country than in city. Then too the experience of many in the West, in mines, business and agri-

culture has led to the opinion in some minds that if people are willing to deny themselves the comforts of life in the East as they are often forced to do in the West, they will find a modest El Dorado near home.

Bear Mountain, Salisbury, 2354 feet high—the Highest Point in Connecticut



The Connecticut State Flag

This is the Connecticut State Flag, as decided by the General Assembly in 1897. It is of azure blue, with shield of argent white, leaves and fruit in their natural colors. The dimensions are five feet and six inches by four feet and four inches.

CHAPTER XL

THE CITY

THE changes taking place in Connecticut since the pioneers toiled wearily over the Indian trails to the Great River, and the agricultural life into which they plunged are nowhere else more vividly suggested than in the multiplication of the larger towns and cities with their varied problems. Until the Revolution there were only towns, and in 1784, thirty-eight years before the incorporation of Boston, the General Assembly incorporated the cities of Hartford, New Haven, New London, Norwich, and Middletown, although neither of them had a population of five thousand, and police, waterworks, fire companies, sewers and parks were still in the future. The mayor had no salary, though as judge of the City Court he drew two dollars a day until 1802, when his pay was increased to three dollars and a half. For fifty years the two duties of the mayor were to preside over the Common Council and to act as judicial magistrate. In 1836, his judicial powers were taken away, and about that time he was made peace officer; in 1844, the Hartford charter was amended to give the mayor authority to punish resistance to law and abuse of authority, and in 1842, the charter of New Haven was changed by the addition of an important amendment, which has since been embodied in every other city charter in the state, making the mayor conservator of the peace, and as the chief executive, qualified to suppress disorder by calling on the police or private citizens. Hartford

was the first city in the state to confer the veto power, and this was done in 1859. For more than half a century the council system prevailed, and in 1860, New Haven introduced the method of boards of finance, health, police, fire, parks, water, library and education.

The Census Bureau defines the urban population as that in cities or other incorporated places of twenty-five hundred inhabitants or more, and in 1910, there were seventy-two such towns, with ten and three-tenths per cent. only in rural territory. Moreover some of the people in the rural districts have a comparatively easy access to cities through the trolleys or steam roads. Connecticut has eighteen cities, and seven of these have a population of twenty-five thousand or more. New Haven, the largest city, has a population of over one hundred and thirty-three thousand, and Bridgeport over one hundred and two thousand. Inhabitants in rural territory in 1890, were sixteen and five-tenths of the whole population; in 1910, ten and three-tenths, showing a substantial drift to the city. In the last ten years the population of the larger towns increased much more rapidly than in the smaller towns—those over twenty-five thousand and under one hundred thousand, thirty-one and six-tenths per cent.; towns between twenty-five hundred and twenty-five thousand nineteen and six-tenths per cent., while the rural population was practically stationary. It appears also that of the total increase in the state in the last decade, three-fifths was in towns of over twenty-five thousand inhabitants.

Of the total population in 1910, of 1,114,766, thirty-five and five-tenths per cent. were native whites of native parentage; thirty-three and six-tenths per cent. were native whites of foreign or mixed parentage; twenty-nine and five-tenths per cent. of foreign-born whites, and one and four-tenths per cent. of negroes. Of the urban population thirty-one and one-tenth per cent. are native whites of native parentage, and of the rural fifty-six and four-tenths per cent.; the per-

centage of foreign-born whites was thirty and six-tenths in the urban and twenty and one-tenth in the rural population. Another fact to be borne in mind is that for many years the excess of deaths over the births of the native Americans of the state is almost three thousand annually, according to the Bureau of Vital Statistics. In view of the above figures which show a more rapid change in the cities than in the country from native to foreign-born, it appears that the cities are becoming peopled to a considerable extent by the foreign-born. This does not necessarily call for anxiety regarding the commonwealth, for many of the best citizens were born in Europe, and the teachers in our public schools assure us that in regularity of attendance, eagerness to learn, and brain power, the children of the foreign-born hold their own with the Connecticut Yankees.

As noted elsewhere, the water power, seaports, nearness to New York and Boston and railroad facilities have encouraged manufacturing in the state, so that, while in 1849, there were fifty thousand employed in manufacturing, in 1909, there were more than two hundred and ten thousand so engaged. Bridgeport, the foremost city of the state in manufactures, shows an increase in 1909, as compared with 1904, of forty-seven per cent. in value of products and thirty-two per cent. in average number of wage-earners, ranking thirty-third in 1909, in the country in value of products. New Haven, the second city in the state in value of products, increased from 1904, to 1909, nearly twenty-nine per cent. in value of goods manufactured. Waterbury showed an increase of over fifty-five per cent. in the value of the products from 1904, to 1909, and the increase of Hartford in those five years in value of products was over fifty-six per cent. Norwich with her large textile industries increased nearly fifty-six per cent. in her products in the five years, and New Britain made the greatest gain in number of wage-earners—thirty-four and two-tenths per cent. In another chapter the details of the manufactures are given in greater fullness, but it is

fitting to note here that during the five years from 1904, to 1909, there was a considerable increase in the relative importance of the state as measured by the value of the products of the largest establishments. This emphasizes the fact that in this manufacturing state there is a natural massing of the population in cities. There are conditions, which the modern city, especially the factory town, has introduced which are serious. The bringing together into a compact civic life of large masses of people to work in shops and live willingly or unwillingly in a herded manner introduces possibilities of peril to the home. How can five boys and girls, sharing with their parents two or three rooms, find decent conditions for home life? The manufactory town is composed of a more changeful population than the country town; business in some particular line flourishes and declines; wage conditions vary; men go whither they can make the most money; many unmarried men drift from town to town, and this tends to foster, especially in the unprincipled, lack of interest in home life, and too often social conditions which tend to immorality.

The city abounds in appeals to the pocketbook, and thus threatens a needful thrift; it offers a variety of entertainments, musical, theatrical, pictorial, ranging in price from a nickel to two dollars. All this reminds us that a new age is upon us, and more sturdy wills are needed to keep the people sound, pure, economical and self-controlled, than in simpler times. The foods offered, the multiplying delicacies from all lands, from hothouse and the skillful artist of sugar, chocolate, fruits and nuts; the cooling drinks, the delicious ices, the toothsome vegetables, the attractive store windows with articles and prices to match taste and every pocket except the empty one; the changing fashions, the fascinating automobile, the temptations to freedom between the sexes where men and women are away from home in dreary boarding houses; the shrinking from marriage because of the cost of rents and living, and the ever increasing expensive-

ness of the home, all these things suggest to the considerate possible dangers, especially in view of the fact that we have yet to see whether native and foreign-born people will be as skillful in continuing our institutions as the Puritan fathers were in establishing them. Then too the employment of men and women in close proximity to one another in many establishments has a tendency to promote looseness of conduct, and is apt to be hostile to manners and morals, leading to temptations unknown a century and a half ago. The going of so many young people of both sexes away from the wholesome influences and restraints of country life to the loud, gaudy atmosphere and attractions of the city streets and cheap theatres; the cleavage between the classes; the business conditions that narrow to a hair the margin between wage and the necessities of life; the glitter of the saloon and the lure of the concert hall, all suggest a new age and new problems, calling for new organizations, wise provisions, large outlay and, perhaps, radical changes in the whole economic life. When the country embraced nearly all the population the young people were kept busy at home, when out of school. There was enough to do in kitchen, barn, and on the land for hand and mind; but the city boy has no wood to chop, no chickens to feed, no cows to milk, and it is a far more difficult undertaking to bring up a family of children in the city than it was in the country; requiring more judgment, inventiveness and character to guide aright the young people who live in a whirl of temptations. When the time for marrying approaches, the high rent, reduced physical strength of women and the calls of society, requiring the employment of servants, together with the attractions of the clubs, embarrass with a flood of difficulties of which Governor Trumbull did not dream. Then too the social unrest is more acute in the city than in the country, as opportunity for debate and exciting appeals is ampler there than among the pleasant hills. Novel ideas, untried paths, pictures, stories, newspapers of every grade,

the ever present saloon, all this, without anchorage in a good home, makes the modern city a problem to the wise, and a peril to the thoughtless and inexperienced.

To offset this gloomy view it should be said that the city encourages ability and fosters skill to meet difficult situations. The increasing wealth in the larger places furnishes means to build institutions to promote intelligence and mental training, unknown a hundred years ago. Inventiveness, energy, and combinations of earnest and far-sighted men are stimulated in a wide-awake city to match and overcome the ingenious and glittering appeals from the underworld. There are dangers everywhere, and there are nests of iniquity in the country, away from the police, where corruption as demoralizing and vice as horrible as in city slum are practiced. In some ways it is as difficult to keep young people pure and high-minded in the urban village as in the city, where keen and resolute minds are organized for good as others are for evil. Decided changes are taking place in the cities, which are outgrowing their petty rivalries; are becoming rich in schools, libraries, museums, associations and parks, and also in a noble civic pride, prophetic of better days.

CHAPTER XLI

THE OLD CONNECTICUT AND THE NEW

IN shaping the impressions of this history of two hundred and eighty years, the first thing to have in mind is the fact that Connecticut developed in America under the singularly favorable influence of an idea, which had for centuries been struggling to rise into action, that government is of law and not of men. This state wrought into her institutions the principles which had been seeking for centuries to gain free play in England; being peculiarly favored in her location, settlers and charter for the further development of a government by the people, toward which the English constitution had long been working. Provincial pride ought not to foster the delusion that our lauded government is a pure product of America.

Another fact to remember is that the settlers of Connecticut did not come hither to establish a free republic, but a religious commonwealth, in which there should be a close union of church and state. While the colonists on the Connecticut River were a little less rigid than some other New Englanders, for nearly two centuries, Connecticut clung to the principle that church and state are one. A clear view of this fact enables one the easier to pardon some things, which might otherwise be classed with bigotry, and to treat with charity lingering influences of mediæval narrowness and severity.

The third fact to emphasize in this review is the vitality of the institutions, resting on the principle of government by

law, and working themselves free. The Connecticut system has been found to be workable, and when the people see that it will not go in one way, they set their common sense to the task of discovering how it will go. The settlers were possessed with three principles: accountability to God, service and a high-minded optimism. When the Massachusetts Court of Assistants in 1630–34, slighted the towns in the new government, Cambridge, Dorchester and Watertown saw that they could not have due recognition without conflict, and that there was a place on the Connecticut River where they could get a living, they determined to move. Able as were Roger Sherman, Samuel Johnson and Oliver Ellsworth, their influence in the constitutional convention of 1787, would have been as the whisper of a child, had it not been for the fact that they went to that convention with all the weight of a century and a half of experience in the institutions of Connecticut. The representative democracy, which had worked so well and so long in this colony, found a clear voice in those strong men, who could stand among conflicting minds and tell what their history had taught them.

In the early years there was needed the positive influence of religion to hold together the young commonwealth amid threatening dangers, but when the constitution of 1818, was adopted, a new era opened.

> The old order changeth, yielding place to new,
> And God fulfils Himself in many ways,
> Lest one good custom should corrupt the world.

The vitality, the common sense of the Connecticut idea as a government of the people by law developed institutions to meet new conditions. There has always been a fair mixture of the progressives and the conservatives, though the latter have usually been in the majority. Town meetings and church meetings have often suggested the line,

> On Jordan's stormy banks I stand.

Men of decided convictions, deep-seated prejudices, and outspoken loyalty to their principles have fought out their battles through heated debate, in which aggressive personalities were developed, caustic speech indulged in, and sharp controversy maintained, but there has been a remarkable sobriety of judgment and steadiness of purpose, due in large measure to the soundness, foresight, and courage of Hooker, Winthrop, Haynes, Ludlow, Eaton, Trumbull, and Sherman.

A measure of stability was given to the young commonwealth by the excessive jealousy of the towns over their rights, though the action sometimes taken would now be intolerance. This appears in the treatment of the Tories, who were struck with a heavy hand in that life-and-death struggle for existence. In the same line was the legislation concerning strangers, who might bring in undesirable elements or become an expense to a town. The treatment of Quakers was not cordial, though milder than in Massachusetts, but in this colony they were advised to move on. Sturdiness of character, abundant nerve and readiness to stand together to the end in behalf of the institutions of the state, have fostered a conservatism, which easily drifts into self-satisfaction, and even an unwillingness to admit that the old is not good enough. The witchcraft craze and slave folly are not brilliant examples of sound judgment, but the stern repression of debate, stiff opposition to new ideas and stern hostility to a more balmy theology, which led to violent upheavals and bitter controversies elsewhere, had slight hold in Connecticut, which has been willing to be laughed at for its "steady habits" and "blue laws," because it knew that while it was tenacious of the old ways, and positive in its loyalty to Puritan convictions, it was friendly to truth, and though not emotional, it was not sentimental. It has been broadened and liberalized by great thinkers; has patiently stood in its lot; has avoided the corner; has not advertised its victories, or exploited its virtues, and when men of sense and courage were called for, has been ready. Its history has been

neither brilliant nor picturesque; plain homespun has been good enough. It has smiled cheerfully when twitted for the craft of the "Connecticut Yankee," knowing that its productions would not have circled the globe, and its machinery have stood the test of competition, if its business were on the "wooden nutmeg" style.

No other colony carried itself with greater wisdom and self-control toward a monarch like Charles II. There was nothing frantic or scarcely dramatic in its grasp on the threatened charter; the action was quiet but effective. The Andros situation seemed formidable, but the colony was neither flurried or depressed. Fletcher came with a commission from the king which threatened liberty; a little calm thinking and determined action thwarted him. The Stamp Act was handled a little roughly, but with no delay, and no other colony was so well prepared for the Revolution, or fought more effectively. Soldiers from some of the other states were earlier at the seat of war in the Rebellion, but when Connecticut regiments were there, they were ready to fire. The contest for the boundaries was long and trying, but the commonwealth maintained its dignity and self-respect, firmly welded together its resolute colonies, avoided sudden catastrophes, smiled toward conservatism, yielded to progress, though sometimes a little late; discovered that the golden mean between local independence and public control is to have both. Steadfast, sensible, willing to learn; practical, interested in education, theology, philanthropy and art; pouring much of its richest life into other states, the older Connecticut is secure in its sturdy vigor, its thorough manliness, its religious seriousness, its devotion to a pretty severe God, and an exacting self-interest.

What shall we say of the New Connecticut? It is too early to write its history, but we can venture a few things. The state has lost its homogeneous character. The population increased from two hundred and thirty-eight thousand in 1700, to nine hundred and eight thousand in 1900, with

native-born Americans forming nearly seventy-four per cent. at the latter date. In 1910, the population had risen to 1,114,766, with seventy and four-tenths per cent. total native. We learn from the annual reports of the Bureau of Vital Statistics that from 1901, to 1911, the excess of the number of deaths over the number of births among native Americans was three thousand per year. Changes which we hope will prove an evolution upward have come; theology has softened its strenuous appeal; stormy blasts from Mount Sinai have changed to zephyrs from the Mountain of the Beatitudes; the stern imperative in home and school has lost its downward slide, or been mellowed into the gentle subjunctive, and the note of authority is set to music. Instead of sixteen offenses punishable by death, there is barely one crime calling for a death penalty. Filthy and barbarous Newgate has been polished into a summer resort, and a reformatory is starting, as hygienic as Yale University, and in some ways it promises to be as well equipped. Instead of punishing the demented as witches or unusually endowed by the devil, they live in pleasant hospitals under the finest medical skill; range over flowery lawns, enjoy attractive entertainments, and amid the comforts of an intelligent age eat their dinners, while the band soothes their disordered nerves with its cheerful strains. Instead of whipping tramps from town to town, or putting them to hard labor in a workhouse, they are kept fat and lazy with side-door beneficence.

Time must work its marvels before the New Connecticut shall be as effective a tonic to our optimism as the Old, seen through the enchanting haze of the past. Trying distribution of wealth, capital and labor in hostile camps, discontent with plain living, and craze for speed will test sagacity, common sense and institutions as sharply as did Indians, witches, slavery or English tyranny. Plymouth Rock can still be seen from the higher hills, but from the smoky manufacturing towns, degenerate hamlets, and the haunts of vicious politi-

cians, it is a trifle indistinct. Men of strange speech get good livings where Puritan brawn toiled, and many of them are as worthy of respect and confidence as some of the descendants of the Winthrops and Trumbulls. In a school district not ten miles from Hartford, after a heated controversy about building a new schoolhouse, which the authorities said must be done to replace the forlorn monument of neglect, the vote stood nine to six, and the nine that voted for the new building were Italian landowners; while those in the negative were descendants of the Puritans, men to whom cider was dearer than the education of their children.

Our study of the past of almost three centuries helps guard against childish despondency over temporary discouragements and apparent retreat. There has been a rhythmic movement in moral and religious life; severity in the early years was followed by decadence as the seventeenth century closed. Just before the middle of the eighteenth century, the Great Awakening, under Edwards and Whitefield, roused the churches and stirred a fresh fervor, which was followed by a lapse of religious seriousness as the Revolution came on. The first half of the nineteenth century brought new devotion to religion, not only to the forms but also to its fruitage in the philanthropies and beneficence, which for the first time in the history of the state sprang into a flourishing growth. The Civil War with its roar of cannon brought discord into the rising music. Since then, brotherliness has become more thoughtful, practical and ingenious than ever; more patiently responsive to human need. In this age of reform, amid the ever rising problems of our complex life, there is far more of friendliness, generosity and self-sacrifice for humanity than in the earlier years. There are many who mourn the passing of the "Good old Times," but, as we have seen, there were three good old times of religious strictness and devotion to a stern Deity, with intervening decadences. It is too early to reach a balance in our estimate of the recent years, but there is

far less of quarreling, strife and bitterness in the communities and the churches. People still cheat one another, but the stigma resting on dishonesty and meanness is darker than a hundred years ago. For nearly two centuries the pulpit proclaimed that God has given the heathen up to "judicial blindness and hardness of heart," and turns them into a very trying and protracted hell, whereas now there is less agonizing to save ourselves from such disaster, and a mild effort to rescue others. We may lament emptier meeting-houses, but those who are there have not been driven thither by dread of fines. Theology may be less terrifying and the Sabbath less solemn, but there is a serious grappling with the great problems of humanity, unknown until the nineteenth century. Amid the ever-rising questions of our complex life, the task of holding fast the integrity of the commonwealth grows no easier, but as long as the Puritan principles of accountability to God, service, and a high-minded optimism control, the state will continue to be a solid bulwark of freedom, and the New Connecticut will nobly develop the fine purposes of the early settlers.

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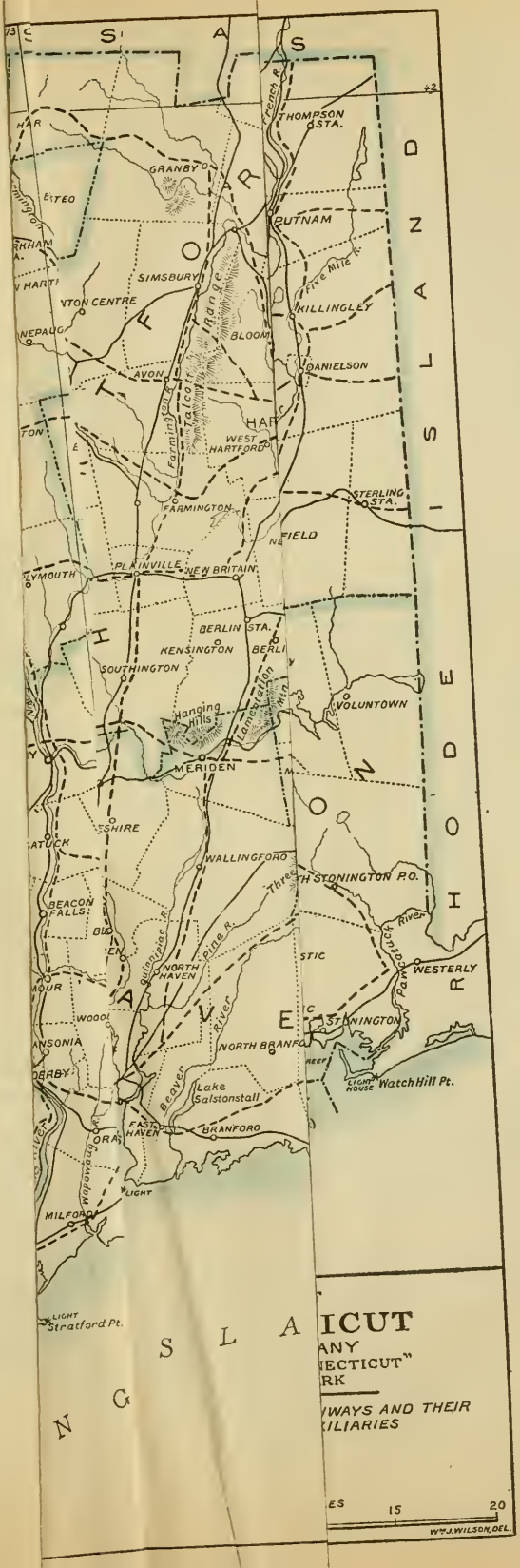
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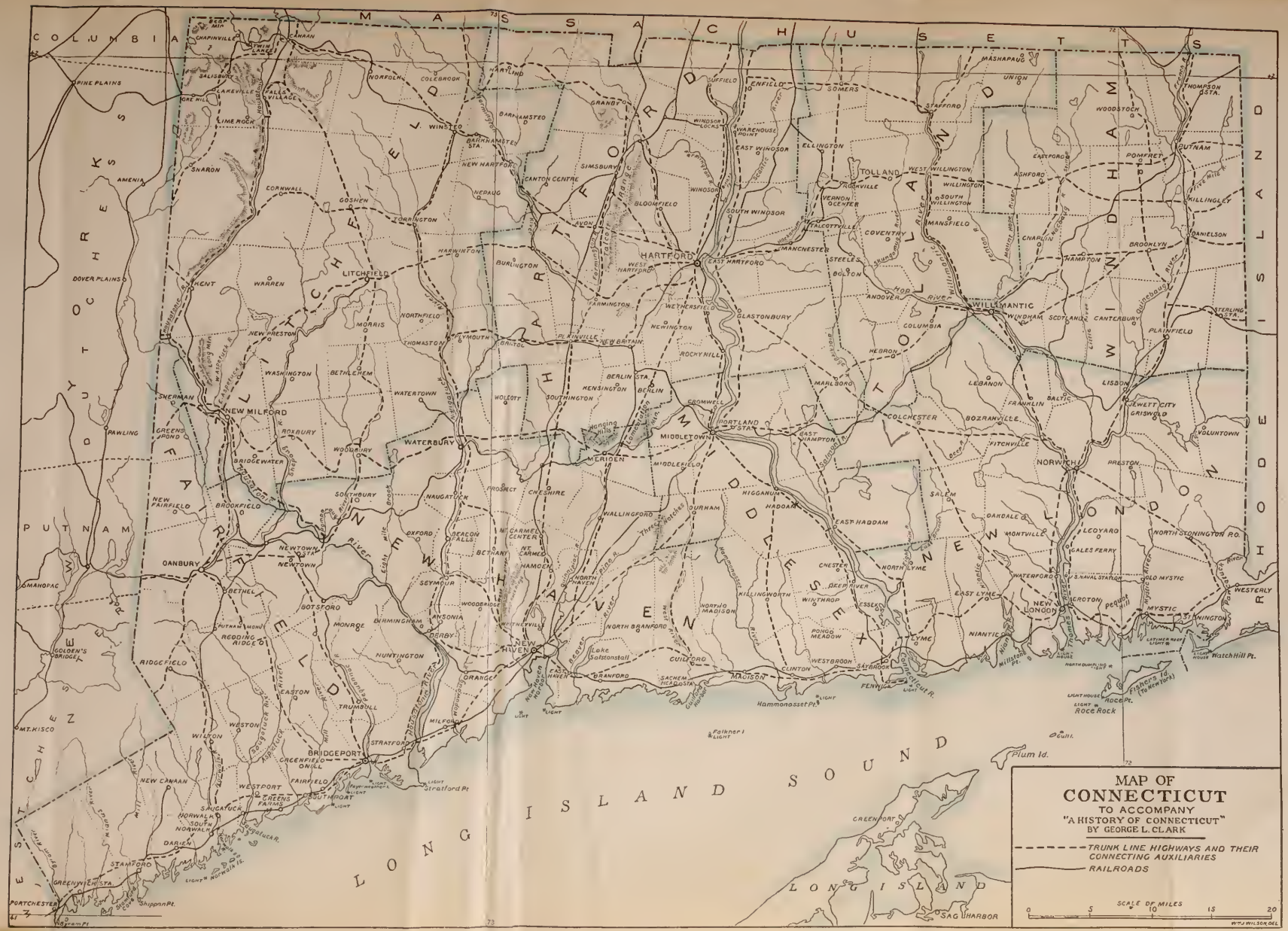
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